HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Nixon Committee to Open Office

Has Romney's Campaign Collapsed?

By TED LEWIS

The two most significant political developments in the last few weeks, as they pertain to presidential 1968 are (1) the emergence of President Johnson in a powerful activist role; and (2) the flattening out of Romney's drive for the GOP nomination.

The two developments have been almost coincidental, as if LBJ had suddenly decided that his second-term chances had markedly improved, with Romney having failed to show popular "oomph" and no other Republican capable of posing as much of a threat as the Michigan governor.

But another development on the near horizon—while it probably does not disturb LBJ—does have more significance to the politicians than generally appreciated. This is the planned opening here in Washington of Nixon-for-President headquarters.

The arranged timing is perfect. The Romney-for-President Committee opened its national headquarters here last week with such a lack of spark and zoom that the ceremony reflected the way the Romney build-up has declined.

Now, it is all very well to say that Nixon is not going to get anywhere, except to precipitate a 1968 party convention ruckus, simply because he is Barry Goldwater's choice for the White House nomination.

And the point is perhaps well taken that Johnson would rather run against Nixon next year than any other Republican anybody could name offhand. As some political experts have suggested, Johnson dislikes Nixon personally. And it might be added that LBJ would be one up on the Kennedys if he could beat Nixon in 1968 more decisively than JFK did in 1960—when the late President won by an eyelash.

What has been too long overlooked in connection with Nixon—and Romney for that matter—is what states they could carry in November 1968 or be more likely to than anyone else.

Front runners Richard Nixon and George Romney, flanked by possible 1968 GOP dark horse candidates Ronald Reagan and Charles Percy, meet at recent Republican gala in Washington.

The blueprints along this electoral-vote line are intriguing. The Romney case had been built up on the basis that he could win the West, the Midwest, the border states and possibly two or three in the South.

Those were the sections where Nixon was strongest against Kennedy in 1960. And more important, it was west of the Appalachians that the Republicans displayed their revived power in the 1966 congressional elections.

In the East last November, the Democrats held their own in Senate and House contests. On that basis alone, the GOP campaign in 1968 had to be based on contriving a national ticket that appealed most to the Midwest and West.

Romney's first tryout swing this year was properly designed to win support west of the Mississippi—the Goldwater-Nixon country in a fair oversimplification. He found latent strength in states like Utah, Idaho and Wyoming, primarily because he is a Mormon.

The main reason the Romney drive has flattened out is that the party "kingmakers" out West are not convinced that he is the answer to their prayers. So, in brief, Romney's strength remained in the Midwest, where it was to begin with.

What is beginning to happen is in the nature of a strong Western drift toward Nixon based on the idea that a 1968 blueprint for victory has more merit with Nixon heading the ticket than Romney, or any other Midwest or Eastern Republican.

In 1960 Nixon won the West with a bang over Kennedy. The latter carried only Nevada and New Mexico. Nixon also was strong in the South, taking Florida, Tennessee and Virginia. And at present there is no argument that he has a better chance in the South, looking to 1968, than any other GOP hopeful.

Much has been made of the fact that Nixon lacks a home base—because, while living in New York, he can count neither on the New York delegation at the 1968 convention, or on carrying the state in the election. It is conceded that he would have a better chance of carrying California than Romney. And after all, haven't the GOP top men pretty well conceded the East to the Democrats anyway?

All that is not to say that Nixon is going to be nominated, but for the next few months he is going to be engaged in a trial run that should be watched, even if he is a two-time loser—for President and then governor of California.

So far he has played his cards smartly. Like Romney, he is not yet an avowed candidate. Unlike Romney, he chose to travel abroad at this time, instead of displaying himself domestically—always a tricky game, especially when begun too early, as Romney has found out.

Significantly, the Nixon-for-President Committee, which is about to establish headquarters here, is headed by Dr. Gaylord B. Parkinson of California, who as state party chairman played a significant role in Gov. Ronald Reagan's election campaign.

Parkinson's first appeal to name Republicans to get on the Nixon bandwagon, by joining his draft committee, points out—and fairly—that the "chief architect" in the 1966 resurgence of the GOP was the former vice president.

This political fact should not be discounted. Nixon is definitely the sentimental choice of the congressional wing of the party. And if a boom can be developed for him in the next few months, he could be the preferred candidate of moderates outside the East, as well as Goldwater and Reagan.

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● Barring a last-minute switch, the Republican National Committee has decided to hold the 1968 **GOP National Convention** in Miami. One reason for choosing Florida is a desire to bolster the popularity of the state's new Republican governor, Claude Kirk. Another reason: By having Miami host the convention, the GOP hopes to increase its chances of snatching from the Democrats the Senate seat now held by George Smathers. Smathers has said he will not run again in '68.

● Ex-Rep. **Charles Porter,** once a fan of Fidel Castro, will serve as Oregon State co-chairman of "Citizens for Kennedy-Fulbright" in 1968.

● Sen. **Charles H. Percy** (R.-Ill.), who is rapidly turning into the Bobby Kennedy of the Republican party, has refused to take himself out of the Republican presidential race in 1968. Percy, acknowledging that he has not decided whether to let his name remain on the GOP presidential primary ballot in Nebraska, states he made a promise not to rule himself out as a contender.

● Liberal Republicans and "doves" in the Capital were taken aback last week by the maiden Senate speech of **Edward Brooke** (R.-Mass.). Brooke, who had been tabbed as a "dove," startled his colleagues by saying "continued military pressure might well end this war before we dare hope." The Bay State lawmaker also noted no indication that North Viet Nam or the Viet Cong were in any hurry for peace talks. Brooke had just returned from Southeast Asia.

● The Ripon Forum, mouthpiece of the liberal Republican **Ripon Society,** has told its readers that it fears "Creeping Reaganism" in the Republican party. Gov. Ronald Reagan of California, it frantically warns its readers, has been declared "qualified" presidential timber by House GOP leader Gerald Ford and is impressing even liberal Washingtonians. Recalling Goldwater's nomination, the Forum states that Reagan "threatens by the same combination of organizational maneuvering" to wind up as the 1968 GOP candidate.

● Soaking up the sun in Bimini, **Adam Clayton Powell** has a new worry—a suit filed by his Conservative party opponent that could knock him off the ballot in the April 11 special election for his old seat. The Rev. Erwin F. Yearling notes that the resolution that prevented Powell's seating covers the entire 90th Congress. Candidate Yearling argues that Powell is therefore ineligible for the special election. Significantly, Yearling is represented by James Leff, who is considered New York's top expert on election laws and regulations.

● **John Kenneth Galbraith,** the Socialist-minded economist who has assailed America's policy in Viet Nam, has been selected by the Americans for Democratic Action nominating committee to succeed Rep. Don Edwards (D.-Calif.) as the ADA's next chairman. Galbraith, whose election is to be formally approved at ADA's April 1 convention in Washington, D.C., is considered a Bobby Kennedy man and is bound to echo the New York senator's views on both domestic and foreign affairs.

● Vice President **Hubert Humphrey** still refuses to forsake his ADA ties. Humphrey is expected to attend the convention dinner on April Fool's Day and will give awards to members who have tended the ADA vineyard for at least 20 years.

● Despite the frenzied attacks of the educationists' lobby, California Gov. **Ronald Reagan** is winning wide popular support for his proposals to reform the state's system of higher education. A recent independent poll gave Reagan's program 67.8 per cent approval.

● Sen. **William Proxmire** (D.-Wis.) continues to be a thorn in the Administration's side. Proxmire is a liberal Democrat who nevertheless opposes many pet spending projects of the "Great Society." As chairman of the prestigious Joint Economic Committee, Proxmire last week demanded a $6-billion slash in federal spending. What's more, he convinced a majority of Democrats on the committee to back him up.

● **Phillip B. Heymann,** acting administrator of the State Department's Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, has been quoted as saying it is "terrible" the department has delayed letting a Marxist professor from Montreal come into the United States.

● New York leftists have mapped an all-out campaign to convince high school students to beat the draft. A massive **"End the Draft"** caravan will visit New York's 87 academic and vocational high schools with advice on thwarting the U.S. war effort. Sponsors include New York SANE, Women Strike for Peace, the War Resisters League, Students for a Democratic Society, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

● How goes America's "embargo" of Cuba? Spain, which exported $1.3 million worth of goods to Cuba in 1962, increased the figure to $9 million in 1963; to $31 million in 1964, to $34 million in 1965 and to over $70 million in 1966.

● Daniel John Sobieski's letter to Time magazine on the **anti-ballistic missile** system has been making the rounds in the Capitol. Wrote Sobieski: "The anti-ballistic missile debate can be settled by asking both sides this question: 'What if you are wrong?' If the supporters are wrong, we will lose $100 per American. If the detractors are wrong, we will lose one American per American. . . ."

● Defense Secretary **Robert S. McNamara** has refused to give Congress the latest cost estimates for the controversial TFX fighter plane, despite the insistent demands of Chairman John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) of the Senate Investigating subcommittee. McNamara conceded that costs have soared far above original estimates, but said he didn't want to "release to the committee information which is ambiguous and could be easily misunderstood."

● President Johnson has decided to temporarily shelve his proposal to merge the Departments of **Commerce and Labor.** Though many analysts were certain any merger would hurt business, Big Labor's opposition apparently forced LBJ's cancellation of the project.

● The American Conservative Union has issued its first full-length report of 1967, a 45-page factual examination of the ultra-liberal **Americans for Democratic Action** (ADA). "The ADA Report," which describes the organization's leftist background, documents its power in the Administration and offers a point-by-point rebuttal of the ADA's 1966 platform, may be purchased from the American Conservative Union, 328 Pennsylvania Ave., S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. The price for a single copy is 35¢; four copies cost $1. The editor of "The ADA Report" is Terry Catchpole, a contributing editor to Human Events.

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THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

Rebellion Against Big Brother

As LBJ, Congress and the Warren Court continue to press for further federal intervention into the affairs of U.S. citizens, an anti-Big Brother rebellion is reverberating through the states and shaking liberals to their very roots. The rebellion is nothing less than a demand by a majority of state legislatures for Congress to call a Constitutional Convention.

Not since the Constitution was drafted 180 years ago have the states asserted their right to call a convention to change that document. All 25 amendments have been initiated by Congress. Now, however, the states are on the threshold of calling a convention for the purpose of striking down the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote rule.

Under Article V of the Constitution, if two-thirds of the state legislatures petition for a convention, Congress must call one. Thirty-two states—just two short of the necessary two-thirds—have already filed their petitions.

The campaign to call the conclave has actually been spearheaded by the Republican leader in the Senate, Everett Dirksen of Illinois. Dirksen's maneuvering has been cagey. Having come within a hair's breadth of getting Congress to propose a constitutional amendment that would set aside the one-man, one-vote decision, Dirksen decided to take his cause to the states. In January 1966 he helped set up the Committee for Government of the People, whose purpose was to educate the nation on the importance of the Dirksen reapportionment amendment. Since then, the American Farm Bureau and the Council of State Governments have also been plugging the Dirksen measure on the state level.

DIRKSEN

Dirksen's plea was simple: "By judicial decree," he maintained, "the federal system in effect has been struck down. The traditional balance of one house based upon population apportionment and one house based upon area representation has been invalidated. . . . If we apportion our states solely on the basis of population, the control of our states surely will be vested in the hands of the selfish few who can control the greatest bloc of votes within the few greatest cities, be they party functionaries, labor leaders or other self-servers who are in no way responsible to the will of the people."

Persuaded by Dirksen's argument, 32 states have affirmatively called for a Constitutional Convention to propose an amendment that would allow at least one house of a state legislature to be elected on a basis other than just population.

The possibility that the states may soon hold a convention has caused consternation among the liberals in Washington. Senators Joseph Tydings (D.-Md.) and William Proxmire (D.-Wis.), both beholden to the labor bosses, are fulminating against the convention idea, declaring it unconstitutional, and the Washington *Post* has thrown up its hands in horror.

Panicky liberals are frightened not only by the prospect that the one-man, one-vote ruling might be turned over if a convention were held, but that the convention would propose other amendments as well. If a convention is actually called, say constitutional authorities, it would not have to be restricted to the one-man, one-vote issue. The states could also take up other burning constitutional problems such as prayer in schools, the outlawing of confessions, tax reforms and the like.

In short, it would be possible for a convention to offer constitutional amendments that would strike down federal authority in a host of fields. Such amendments, of course, would still have to be ratified by three-fourths of the states. But Congress would have no chance to stop ratification.

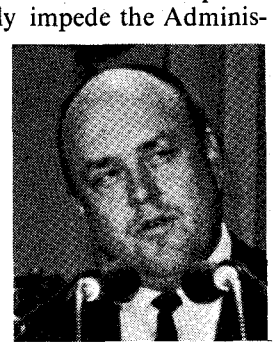
The liberals are desperately throwing up all sorts of roadblocks to prevent a convention, challenging, in fact, the manner in which some of the states actually adopted their convention calls.

But whether or not a convention is ever held, Congress has been put on notice that there is seething discontent in the states regarding federal intervention from Washington.

The states that have voted to assert their constitutional power over the federal government are: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington and Wyoming.

Support Laird's Resolution

Human Events readers should be alert to a special measure that could significantly impede the Administration's desire to bring about a vast expansion of trade with the Soviets and their satellites in Eastern Europe. Introduced by Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.), a ranking member of the House Defense Appropriations Committee and chairman of the Republican Conference, the resolution (House Concurrent Resolution 210) states:



LAIRD

"Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), that it is the sense of the Congress that the government of the United States should only consider further expansion of trade, educational and cultural exchange, and other related agreements with the Soviet Union and its East European satellites, when there is demonstrable evidence that their actions and policies with regard to Viet Nam have been redirected toward peace and an honorable settlement and when there is demonstrable evidence that they have abandoned their policy of support for so-called wars of national liberation."

The Laird resolution has wide Republican and Democratic backing. In a major speech last week in support of it, Laird warned his colleagues that what the Administration is really pushing for now is not just one-shot trade deals with the Communists, but extensive trade supported by long-term credits.

In examining the plan to have the Fiat Co. in Italy build an auto plant for the Soviets, Laird noted: "The U.S. government, and through it the U.S. taxpayer, is prepared to extend a loan for the machine tools for this plant. The loan will be made to Fiat, the prime contractor on the plant, through the financial institution, Instituto Mobilare Italiano. The loan for some $30 to $50 million would be for a period of seven to eight years." In effect, said Laird, the United States would be providing the Soviets a long-term loan.

In the whole area of East-West trade, Laird continued, "it is noteworthy that credit arrangements are a primary field of interest for the Soviets. In fact, our commercial dealings with the Soviets have evolved into long-term credit arrangements which verge on being foreign aid." **(For more on this credit see page 11.)**

The Laird resolution, if supported by Congress, would certainly slow down, and perhaps actually stop, the Administration drive to step up trade with Communist regimes. And there is a good chance that it will pass if the American voters make it clear to their congressmen and senators that they want to see the Laird resolution approved.

The Bunker-Komer Team

"The more one looks at the new Bunker-Komer team that LBJ is sending to Saigon, the less one likes it," remarked one veteran diplomatic observer last week. Bunker is Ellsworth Bunker, the 72-year-old career diplomat who will replace Henry Cabot Lodge as America's ambassador to South Viet Nam. Robert Komer, who served in the CIA from 1947 through 1961, will become the No. 2 man in Saigon.

Though LBJ no doubt thinks "his team" can significantly aid the American cause in South Viet Nam, there are some who suggest he would be wise to keep a sharp eye on their activities. For along much of Diplomatic Row, both Bunker and Komer have a reputation for pursuing a policy of conciliating the Communists.

As noted in these pages last week, Vietnamese officials consider Bunker somewhat "flexible" toward the Reds. As partial proof they point to the fact that he devised the formula in 1962 which wrested West New Guinea from Dutch control and handed it over to Indonesia, then ruled by pro-Communist Sukarno.

Komer, who is to be in charge of the "pacification" program, is considered something of a blowhard among veteran diplomats. Serving for five years as deputy to McGeorge Bundy, who was JFK's and LBJ's special assistant for National Security Affairs, Komer was believed to have been opposed to Moise Tshombe, the pro-Western ruler of Katanga who was cashiered from the Congo with U.S. help.

Komer also played a key role in the 1962 crisis in the small nation of Yemen in the southwest corner of the Arabian Peninsula. On Sept. 26, 1962, anti-American, pro-Nasser revolutionaries expelled Yemen's pro-Western royal ruler from the capital and plunged the country into a chaotic civil war which has yet to be resolved.

The revolution, carefully nurtured by Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser, soon required Nasser's direct intervention and by December no less than 13,000 Egyptian troops had invaded Yemen to help the rebels flatten the royalists who were now receiving supplies from Saudi Arabia.

On December 19, three months before the Soviet-equipped Egyptian Army could even capture some of the important central eastern towns, the United States—to the consternation of the Western-aligned Arab powers—recognized the pro-Nasser revolutionaries as the Yemeni Arab Republic.

"The act was appeasement of Nasser, pure and simple," noted one observer, who added that it had the same shock effect on the pro-Western Arabs as "one might expect the Asians to feel if we suddenly recognized the Viet Cong as a nation."

It was largely due to Komer's urging that the United States recognized the pro-Nasser, anti-Western revolutionaries.

Acknowledging Komer's part in U.S. recognition of the revolutionaries, the New York *Times* noted last week that this act "created considerable confusion and dismay among the pro-Western monarchies of the Middle East and appeared to encourage rather than neutralize the aggrandizing instincts of President Gamal Abdel Nasser. . . . Soon, much to Mr. Komer's dismay, President Kennedy was wryly referring to it as 'Mr. Komer's war.' "

Ellsworth Bunker also got into the Yemen act, helping to draw up the Jiddah peace agreement which was signed by Nasser and King Faisal of Saudi Arabia in 1965. Under this agreement, Faisal was to stop sending supplies to the royalists if Nas-

• *Rep. Paul Findley (R.-Ill.) is readying legislation to prohibit the Export-Import Bank from financing a Fiat auto plant in the Soviet Union. The Illinois lawmaker will introduce an amendment that would deny any governmental credits or aid, directly or indirectly, to any Communist country which is "engaging in war by proxy" against the United States by supplying aid to Hanoi.*

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ser would withdraw his troops, which now numbered 50,000. Under U.S. pressure, Faisal's supplies have stopped, but Nasser's troops remain, still fighting the royalists. Now, the dynamic Bunker-Komer duo find themselves together again in Saigon.

LBJ's Letter to Ho

North Viet Nam's release of a previously secret exchange of letters between LBJ and Ho Chi Minh reverberated through the Capitol last week as lawmakers made ready to depart for their home states for the Easter recess.

President Johnson's request to Ho that both countries engage in "private discussions" over the Viet Nam war, a request harshly rejected by North Viet Nam's Communist ruler, proved to the satisfaction of almost everyone but Bobby Kennedy and his band of peaceniks that it is Ho Chi Minh, not LBJ, who is the hard-nosed aggressor prolonging the Asian conflict.

Nevertheless, despite the fact the United States may have picked up a few propaganda points, some tough-minded American diplomats still feel that LBJ was a bit too conciliatory in his letter to Ho, particularly when he suggested that discussions could be worked out "in Moscow where contacts have already occurred."

Not all of LBJ's "soft" proposals, they add, were contained in the single letter to Ho now made public. The State Department has revealed that at least four other American messages have been passed directly to Hanoi and a fifth went by way of Soviet Premier Kosygin. All of these still secret letters reportedly contain numerous American concessions to the Communists in North Viet Nam.

Demos Fear Big Losses

Gloomy pros at the Democratic National Committee foresee sweeping Republican gains in the 1968 Senatorial elections. "We could lose as many as 10 seats," a top Democrat admits.

Three Democrats are currently written off as "hopeless cases" by Democratic strategists. They are 80-year-old Ernest Gruening (Alaska), 72-year-old Lister Hill (Ala.) and 89-year-old Carl Hayden (Ariz.). Barry Goldwater is Hayden's likely successor.

Other Democrats in hot water, according to party sources, include Gaylord Nelson (Wis.), Joseph Clark (Pa.), Daniel Brewster (Md.), Frank Church (Idaho), George McGovern (S.D.) and Wayne Morse (Ore.). Several of these Democrats—including Brewster, Clark and Morse—may not make it past the Democratic primary.

The GOP expects also to capture the Florida seat now occupied by George Smathers, who has announced that he is retiring. A bitterly-divided Democratic party should aid GOP chances in that race.

With these possibilities in mind, Hearst columnist Marianne Means noted recently that the GOP—which has not held a numerical majority since 1954—may be within shooting distance of effective command of the Senate.

"For the upcoming 1968 election offers the GOP its biggest opportunity in a decade to pick up additional Senate seats," she wrote. "It is quite possible that the GOP could gain enough strength so that the old Republican-Southern conservative Democratic coalition, assuming it could be effectively revived, would once again have a voting majority in the Senate."

The Govt's Publicity Machines

In pouring out publicity for its own programs, the federal government, with the aid of 6,800 federal employes, spends over a million dollars a day, or $425 million a year. This cost, according to a recent Associated Press survey, "is more than double the combined outlay for newsgathering by the two major United States news services, the three major television networks and the 10 biggest American newspapers."

Much of the publicity, noted the AP, "is devoted to convincing Americans, with their own money, that what the government does is for their welfare."

The survey showed that the biggest publicity network is maintained by the military, with about 3,000 employes and a budget of at least $32.3 million. "For sheer numbers in the public relations arena," declared the AP, "the Defense Department is in a class by itself. In Viet Nam alone, Defense has about 500 public relations people, a bigger operation by itself than all but two stateside government information departments."

Other large publicity operators include Congress—for ballyhoo and news releases—$9.9 million; Department of Agriculture, $8.9 million; Department of Health, Education and Welfare, $7.8 million; and Atomic Energy Commission, $6.1 million.

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration also is not one to stint with the taxpayer's money. Last year NASA sent out 2,400 speakers to tell its story to a variety of symposiums and conferences, Rotary Clubs and school assemblies. It provides five-minute taped shows each week to 2,700 radio stations and 15-minute shows each month to 1,600 stations. Each month it sends a four-and-a-half minute film to 500 television stations, including 200 broadcasting in color.

Sargent Shriver, head of the anti-poverty war, has 46 staffers grinding out favorable publicity and has "waged the most spectacular publicity campaign of recent times," declared the AP. An anti-poverty information man claimed: "With Sarge, when something goes wrong with the program, you step up public relations."

SHRIVER

In addition to the usual barrage of handouts, Shriver's PR men used a national television show directed at teen-agers which featured such performers as the Righteous Brothers, the Headhunters and disc jockey Murray (The K) Kaufman.

Such is the way American taxpayers' money is being used by Uncle Sam.

The ABM Threat

The head of the government's chief nuclear weapons laboratory told an Air Force Association convention in San Francisco last week that it is of "crucial importance" for the United States to go ahead immediately with an anti-missile defense system. Contradicting Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara, Dr. Harold Agnew, head of the Atomic Energy Commission's Los Alamos (N.M.) Scientific Laboratory Weapons Division, said the first step should be to put a missile defense system around U.S. intercontinental ballistic missile sites.

Agnew said failure to produce and deploy the Nike X missile defense now would set the whole program back for "two or three years."

The companies working on the Nike X, he declared, are ready for the next step but will disband their technical teams and convert their facilities to other uses if the system is kept in suspension again this year.

Ripping into the assumptions of those behind our defense policies, Agnew said: "There was a time when what was good for me militarily was probably by definition bad, or a minus, for the other nations. Of late, however, the Defense and State Departments seem to have a new set of conditions: What is good for me should also be good for my adversary and vice versa." Agnew said that because of this feeling the Administration will now only consider building a defense system that will contribute to "stability" between the United States and the Soviet Union.

• In line with Agnew's thinking, the Senate last week authorized additional funds for preproduction activities directed toward the deployment of an anti-ballistic missile defense system. The chances of the Administration using the funds, however, are doubtful. Congress authorized and appropriated $167.9 million for the purchase of items leading to the deployment of an ABM system last year, but none of this money was spent by McNamara's Department of Defense.

Reds Push Anti-War Rally

Security officials predict tumultuous demonstrations and possible violence in the nationwide anti-Viet Nam protest scheduled for April 8-15.

The demonstrations have been mapped by the Spring Mobilization Committee, a radical peace group that welcomes Communists and other revolutionaries to membership. At least two members of the Communist Party National Committee, Herbert Aptheker and Arnold Johnson, hold leadership positions with the committee.

APTHEKER

Confidential government reports reveal that in addition to the Communist party, such radical groups as the Socialist Workers party, Youth Against War and Fascism and Students for a Democratic Society are actively participating in the upcoming protest.

Representatives of several groups have reportedly organized "kamikaze units" to break through police lines and touch off violent demonstrations. "Moderates" within the Spring Mobilization Committee are reportedly counseling against such acts, however.

Among the prominent liberals participating in the demonstrations are the Rev. Martin Luther King, actor Robert Vaughan, singer Harry Belafonte, playwright Arthur Miller, author Norman Mailer and Mrs. Cyrus Eaton, prominent Ohio Democrat and wife of the millionaire Soviet apologist.

Abolish the NLRB?

Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), co-author of the Landrum-Griffin labor law which has done much to curb union abuses, has introduced a bill (S. 1353) to abolish the pro-union National Labor Relations Board and to replace it with a 15-judge U.S. labor court, similar in many respects to the U.S. Tax Court.

GRIFFIN

Co-sponsored by senators with such diverse views on domestic affairs as Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio) and Charles Percy (R.-Ill.), the bill was introduced because Griffin feels that our "labor-management laws should be interpreted and applied by persons of judicial temperament acting in a judicial atmosphere by judges who are well insulated from day-to-day political and special interest pressures."

Unfortunately, adds Griffin, this has not been the case. The NLRB, he maintains, "has shown little inclination to act, or to regard itself, as a judicial body. Instead, it seems to regard itself—in the words of one of its own members—as a policy-making tribunal.

"In my view, the qualifications and tenure of NLRB membership invite this unfortunate attitude. NLRB members are appointed for short five-year terms. There is no requirement that they be lawyers; in fact, two of the five current members of the NLRB are not lawyers."

A fair decision in a labor case is compounded, says Griffin, by inadequate appeal procedures which require the courts to sustain all the board's findings of fact which are supported by "substantial evidence"—whether or not the court would have made similar findings on the same evidence.

In the view of Griffin, who comes from the most heavily unionized state in the country, a labor court would be the proper remedy.

• *House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford has called upon the Johnson Administration to publicize the facts and figures about Communist atrocities against civilians in South Viet Nam* (*see p. 12*). *The Administration had earlier classified the figures, making them available only after the persistent pressing of Rep. Ross Adair (R.-Ind.) and other members of Congress.*

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The Decline of Arthur Goldberg

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Back to town the other day came U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg and you couldn't help wondering at what point intelligent men take leave of their cogency when they enter government service.

Goldberg, silver-haired and supposedly gold-tongued, had as his client the most important man in the universe, the President of the United States. He had what looked like an air-tight case, a treaty to ban the orbiting of nuclear weapons in outer space. The treaty had already been agreed to by the Soviet Union, and President Johnson several weeks before had thrown a White House semi-spectacular to dramatize the event.

You'd think that no lawyer ever had an easier walk-on role than Goldberg in presenting this space treaty to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It looked like a push-over for the ambassador, a foregone conclusion that the Foreign Relations Committee would approve and that the Senate would ratify without demur.

But as one who has covered his share of court proceedings, I think I never watched an attorney who was so ill-prepared and who had a weaker proposition to offer than Arthur Goldberg did on this occasion.

He was over-long on declaiming the significance of the matter, but he was lost as soon as Senators Fulbright, McCarthy, Gore and Symington began to ask some questions. All were Democrats, none were hostile, yet the case collapsed under their friendly queries.

U.N. Ambassador Goldberg had a hard time explaining his position to a Senate committee.

Goldberg admitted that he couldn't define outer space, although that's the area which the space treaty was drawn to cover. He said that the treaty would declare space to be the common property or "all mankind," but he seemed to be stumped when Gore asked him if this communal ownership extended to the American communications satellites that are humming through the heavens.

Sen. Frank Church (D.-Idaho) had to explain for Goldberg that, while space would belong to "everyone" under the proposed treaty, any objects traveling through space were still the property of their terrestrial owners. These owners might or might not make the scientific information available, as we do in the matter of weather data. But no user of space is required to share anything with a non-user.

By this time the big question of the senators, the press and the spectators became: "Then what's the treaty for, and why bother to adopt it?"

Along about this time Secretary Rusk, sitting beside Goldberg, interrupted to give a workable definition. Outer space, he said, was anywhere that vehicles were in orbit. This didn't satisfy Symington, who is also a member of the Armed Services Committee and was first secretary of the Air Force. Symington wanted to know if the Russians would be allowed to stop our Manned Orbiting Laboratory and inspect it for hidden nuclear weapons. The ambassador said the answer was negative. However, it soon evolved that bases on the moon could be inspected, although this privilege was altogether unenforceable.

Really, the exchange of dialogue began to sound like straight-faced comedy in vaudeville. Did the treaty say anything whatever? If so, did it mean what it said? The man least about to give any enlightenment was the man who'd come from New York to explain and commend the treaty.

Something has happened to Goldberg since he became our ambassador at the United Nations. It could be that the late Adlai Stevenson, who held the post under President Kennedy, and Henry Cabot Lodge, who was President Eisenhower's man at the U.N., were similarly demoralized while serving there.

It's certainly a fact that Goldberg, Stevenson and Lodge put the least distinguished years of their careers into their work in that place, and that Goldberg has gone into a positive intellectual decline since taking the job.

Personalities aside, our American system of government is suffering from a seldom-recognized handicap of its successful middle age. We take men from the arenas of competition where their ability and integrity are under constant testing. In most positions of public life, especially in the appointive jobs, the competition is lacking and the performance is slack.

Many a brilliant businessman or political organizer has been appointed postmaster general and soon becomes a drone. Every secretary of state becomes a do-nothing or a fuss-budget after two or three years. It is well known that ambassadors soon begin to take on the coloration of the country where they are posted and forget to represent the home interests.

Perhaps the U.N. post is the most ruinous of all appointive jobs. And Arthur Goldberg, the brightest man as yet to serve there, is coming apart faster than most.

(Distributed by McNaught Syndicate, Inc.)

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KENNEDY DYNASTY—Author-playwright Gore Vidal, a prominent liberal Democrat with family ties to Mrs. John F. Kennedy, said recently that if the American voters perpetuate the Kennedy dynasty in office they will get what "a frivolous and apathetic electorate" deserves. Vidal, who ran for Congress in 1960 as a Democrat, said the Kennedys are spending $1 million a year on Bobby's White House drive.

□ □ □

RED SCOFFLAWS—You will have a tough time convincing the District of Columbia police that the Soviets are mellowing. Each month, Soviet Embassy officials are tearing up literally hundreds of parking tickets. During a recent five-month period the Red scofflaws racked up 1,570 tickets—and paid not one.

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Members of the National Congress of American Indians meet with President Johnson. In contrast to the dependency of most Indians upon the federal government, Wisconsin's Menominees and Alaska's Tyoneks are using free enterprise to help themselves.

No Wooden Indians

How the Menominees have prospered after breaking away from the government

By PAUL HARVEY

The Menominee Indians of Wisconsin had security, but preferred opportunity. So on May 1, 1961, this tribe broke away from government snoopervision of their affairs—and went into business for themselves.

They created Menominee Enterprises, Inc. Their business: processing pulp cordwood while replanting the forests to perpetuate the raw material source. And for five consecutive years Menominee Enterprises has reported increased sales and profits. Theirs is now a thriving $19-million business, returning a comfortable 15 per cent to investors!

The Indians, at the same time, are preserving the wilderness status of their Wolf River area for the enjoyment of us all.

While most of the rest of us have been voting for ourselves more and more government regulations, regimentation and "welfare," the Menominees elected to divorce themselves from the guaranteed security of a government reservation and profit and prosper.

They emancipated themselves and became self-sustaining in spite of Washington.

If they are the first Indian tribe to prefer "free enterprise," they are not the last.

In Tyonek, Alaska, live 200 Tyonek Indians. They struck oil. These heretofore impoverished Indians have already collected some $12 million from this unexpected source.

We who remember how a generation ago the Cherokees and Osages were thrown for a loss by the oil boom in Oklahoma crossed our fingers when we heard about the oil boom in Tyonek. We needn't have.

No wooden Indians these, either!

The Tyonek Indians, assuming management of their windfall, ordered the Bureau of Indian Affairs to get its bureaucratic hands off the purse strings!

Tribal leaders assembled their own lawyers, investment counsellors, accountants and bankers. They initiated and financed their own slum clearance—their own "urban renewal." They replaced shacks with modern homes. They invested prudently.

Of course, an avalanche of moochers showed up and tried to move in. From every direction came the parasites—schemers, peddlers, promoters, chiselers, beggars.

Until now the Tyoneks have posted their reservation, barring any univited visitors. The sign on the gate says: "Keep out; the scalp you save may be your own!"

The moral to be derived from these experiences should be too obvious to require elaboration. Yet, especially in the first instance of the do-it-yourself Menominees, the Indians' wisdom in "delegating" administrative responsibility is inspiring.

The Menominees elected a non-Indian, Mr. A. D. Clements, president.

"There are already young Indian officers in Menominee Enterprises being prepared to fill my shoes," says Clements. "As our business prospers, increasing the incentive for our young to become actively interested, the children of the Wolf River eventually will take over the entire administrative responsibility."

Whether other tribes can or will emulate these examples remains to be seen. Not all will, of course, for not all Indians are created equal, either.

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GINZBURG CASE—A Federal appeals court has upheld the conviction of smut peddler Ralph Ginzburg, the *Fact* magazine publisher who is currently being sued by Barry Goldwater for libel. Ginzburg faces a five-year term on a pornography conviction already upheld by the Supreme Court. The Third Circuit Court of Appeals rejected Ginzburg's latest appeal that his sentence was severe, terming it a "desperate shotgun performance."

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Outlook Different Now

When Bobby Was on Top He Didn't Tolerate Dissent

By VICTOR LASKY

Robert F. Kennedy, who is hatcheting President Johnson every opportunity he gets, says that he has the right to dissent.

And no one can really argue with the New York senator's right to criticize the policies of the Johnson Administration.

But how did Bobby act when his brother was in the White House? Few of President Kennedy's critics escaped the slings and arrows of an outraged Bobby Kennedy. In fact, Bobby repeatedly used his high office of attorney general in extra-legal efforts to silence critics. He has even been known to have chewed out offending newspapermen.

Thus, Bobby called Roscoe Drummond to protest a column on the Billie Sol Estes case. And he telephoned columnist Robert S. Allen to challenge his reporting on the Ted Kennedy-Ed McCormack battle for the senatorial nomination in Massachusetts in 1962.

As attorney general, Bobby Kennedy had two federal agents look into columnist Lasky's background.

(The columns reported on White House pressures, threats and strong-arm methods employed to win a Senate seat for Teddy.) And Bobby literally "blew his stack" in arguing with Earl Mazo about the then New York *Herald Tribune* man's stories on Billie Sol Estes.

"Bobby's so-called 'lecture,' as it has been described, was in reality a childish outburst," Mazo said at the time. "He was so enraged about our coverage . . . that I expected at any moment he would throw himself on the floor, screaming and bawling for his way. Instead, he paced back and forth, storming and complaining. It was something to see!" (That was the week that President Kennedy banned the New York *Herald Tribune* from the White House.)

Bobby's attitude towards dissenters was also demonstrated by the then attorney general's dispatch of two federal gumshoes to investigate the background of this writer who had the temerity to write a critical book on the late President.

Even more pertinent was Bobby's treatment of Chester Bowles following the Bay of Pigs failure. The then under secretary of state had let it be known he had opposed the anti-Castro operation. At a face-to-face meeting Bobby poked Bowles, 24 years his senior, in the chest, snarling: "So you advised against this operation. Well, as of now, you were all for it." Later Bowles was exiled to an ambassadorship in New Delhi.

More recently it was disclosed that Bobby used his powers as attorney general to wiretap Martin Luther King. Subsequently, information was passed to a select few regarding the reverend doctor's alleged ties to subversive individuals and groups.

Perhaps most significant is the fact that in his current criticism of President Johnson on Viet Nam, Bobby actually is questioning policies instituted by his late brother.

As Gore Vidal observes in a brilliant piece on the Kennedy family in the April issue of *Esquire*:

"Characteristically, the world at large believes that if JFK were alive there would be no war in Viet Nam. The mythmakers have obscured the fact that it was JFK who began our active participation in the war when, in 1961, he added to the 600 American observers the first of a gradual build-up of American troops, which reached 20,000 at the time of his assassination. And there is no evidence that he would not have persisted in that war for, as he said to a friend shortly before he died, 'I have to go all the way with this one.' He could not suffer a second Cuba and hope to maintain the appearance of a defender of the free world at the ballot box in 1964."

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SORRY ABOUT THAT. . . .

Would you accept a "sorry about that" from an employee who made the same mistake for the fifth time!

Would you fail to sue a firm that refused to deliver on a contract paid in advance!

Of course not!

How is it, then, that a school might "fail" your child, or send him home as a "problem" when you have been paying them for years to do a job they assure you you are incompetent to do!

Would your employees get away with excuses as poor as those used by schools! Your child is "poorly motivated," "won't apply himself," "needs self-discipline," or, horrors? He's "emotionally disturbed."

Is it really *your* fault! Does your contractor blame you when he uses faulty cement!

We are a group of teachers who long ago decided that our broker was more ethical than our headmaster. We opened our own school and decided to make an honest deal with parents—pupils never fail, only poor schools and poorer teaching fail.

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How Red Tape Is Strangling Medicare

The federal government's highly touted Medicare program, which has already cost the American taxpayers close to $1 billion, has developed into a massive tangle of government red tape, skyrocketing hospital costs and inadequate service to patients due to overloading. These are the conclusions reached in a survey of hospital administrators by *Nation's Business* magazine, conclusions that have been bolstered by hearings now being held by the House Committee on Ways and Means. (These congressional hearings on Medicare are continuing and will be reported in *Human Events* in the weeks to come.)

After talking with doctors, executives, nurses and others in hospitals participating in the Medicare program, *Nation's Business* was able to report "government red tape is taking its place in the nation's hospitals alongside the hypodermic syringe and miracle drugs. . . . Medicare has spun a web of red tape around doctors, nurses, cashiers and administrators." And the patient, the magazine reports, is "totally confused when it comes to reviewing his hospital or doctor's bill to determine what the government is or is not paying."

Despite the gross deficiencies found in Medicare and the obvious need for overhauling its bureaucracy, the Administration is proceeding with legislative plans to enlarge the program.

President Johnson has requested Congress to extend Medicare benefits to 1.5 million disabled Americans under 65 and who are now covered by the Social Security and railroad retirement benefit plans; another Administration plan would make free foot treatment available to the elderly.

Outside Congress, the President has ordered a study which could result in proposed legislation having the government pay costs of all prescription drugs now bought by Medicare patients outside the hospital.

"The federal Medicare program," writes *Nation's Business,* "has pointed up some shortcomings which may be magnified as increasing millions avail themselves of its provisions."

Among the "Medicare maladies" the publication found in its nationwide survey were the following cases:

• The University of Michigan Hospital has been forced to hire five clerical helpers to handle only the many forms and regulations the government requires of hospitals participating in Medicare; the costs for this staff increase must be borne by the hospital, which in turn must then raise its rates for non-Medicare patients. Hospital officials report spending up to 25 minutes with patients, explaining the complex billing system required under Medicare, and even then some patients cannot figure out what the government is paying and what they must pay for.

"Lengthy and exacting government forms must be completely satisfied before attempting to collect Medicare from the government," says Ernest Laetz, a director of the Michigan hospital, in pointing out his institution has $750,000 in unpaid government bills outstanding. "The red tape is catching up with us now and tangling every action."

• The huge Massachusetts General Hospital has much the same problem as Michigan, but on a magnified scale. The hospital has had to take on 21 additional clerks to handle government paper work and now holds some $1.5 million in unpaid bills. Although the Social Security Administration has set up an emergency payment procedure to assist hospitals holding large amounts in unpaid bills, Lawrence Martin, director and comptroller of Massachusetts General, says this "formula presumes that everything's going smoothly. But that's just not so. It's not a realistic formula and it does not supply the money. In the inpatient section alone, we are holding 900 bills right now which haven't been approved."

• Jeff Steinert, treasurer of the American Association of Hospital Accountants and former consultant to the Social Security Administration, agrees that the forms required of hospitals in the Medicare program are a bureaucratic nightmare: "The lousy form design is inherent in the whole system. The people who designed these forms had little consultation with the hospital people. A revision is now in order."

• In Louisiana an estimated three-quarters of the doctors participating in Medicare have rebelled against the bureaucracy and the snowbank of forms and are now refusing to sign the required admission papers and certification of care slips. In December 1966 the Louisiana State Medical Society passed a resolution which "recommended that its members refrain from signing any certification or recertification forms for third parties [i.e., the government]."

The upshot of this rebellion was that Dr. H. Ashton Thomas, secretary-treasurer of the state society, was visited by an official of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, overlord of Medicare.

"He told me," recalls Dr. Thomas, "that unless the doctors start using the forms [for certification], HEW would have to pull in the purse strings on these doctors. I dared him to. There isn't anything they can do. Nothing in the law says we have to sign these papers. A doctor has followed the law when he admits a patient to the hospital."

• In other cases, individual doctors have tried to fight the Medicare bureaucracy and have not been as lucky as those in Louisiana, where the whole state was in unanimous agreement. Dr. Thomas M. Prescott, a surgeon in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, vowed never to sign the government's documents – contending they challenged his honesty and integrity –and, as a result, he has not practiced surgery anywhere in the last five months.

However much he has suffered financially, Dr. Prescott has received the praise of hundreds of individual doctors across the country for his stand. "They realize what's in the deck," he proclaims, "and that the deck is stacked against them."

Some Days Nothing Works

By BARRY GOLDWATER

The faster we fly, the slower we travel on earth. And the more marvelous our machines, the harder it is to get them fixed when something goes wrong. Or so it seems. Beyond it all, the plain old weather can do more to disrupt plans than wars, depressions or other man-made disasters.

All these facts were mixed into a stew and unceremoniously poured on my head during a single day recently. It happened, as you might imagine, in that kitchen of disruption, Washington, D.C.

First there was a snowfall, but it wasn't exactly the blizzard of '89. The streets were covered, but I don't think anybody would have needed snowshoes to cross Pennsylvania Avenue. What happened? Nothing happened. The town looked as though Lyndon had lost the key to the Treasury. Nothing was moving.

Specifically, I wasn't moving.

I had hoped to get to New York for a meeting, which didn't seem unreasonable. Modern aircraft have enough electronic gear aboard to navigate to the moon, but not to New York in a snowstorm. Modern airport towers have enough gadgetry to spot a flying saucer, a little green man or a big Red airplane, but not enough to get an old-fashioned airplane into the air and off to New York when the snow begins to fly. A little boy on a sled might make it. But not a $10-million mechanical marvel.

Watching the paralysis, you couldn't help wonder what our forefathers would have thought. Just imagine Lewis turning to Clark and saying, "Sorry, old boy, but it's snowing. The trip will have to wait."

Unable to get to New York, I decided to do some work in my Washington apartment. Out came my trusty dictating machine. It clanked a couple of times, made a few false starts, sighed deeply and died.

Now, I am not altogether unfamiliar with electrical equipment, but this little gem obviously had been built by mad midgets in a secret laboratory somewhere in gnome-land. Even if you could understand the circuitry, it would take a microscope to see what you're doing. I gave up.

Next step was to try to call a repairman. This involved me, first of all, with the phone company, one of the 20th Century's undisputed marvels of technology. It employs, however, a number of humans who are no more infallible than I am.

I tried the Yellow Pages to no avail. Next I called Information to see if they could locate an agency that handled my brand of machine. "Spell it, please," the operator asked. I did. She looked up something else. We tried again—about five times. Finally we arrived at what seemed a consensus, and I got a number. I called it.

For a reason that will always be obscure to me, the repair service wouldn't let me bring the machine to them. They had to send a man to me. This meant he had to cross town to my apartment to tell me, after scratching his head, that my machine wouldn't work and that, by golly, it just so happened he couldn't fix it there. He'd have to take it back to the shop.

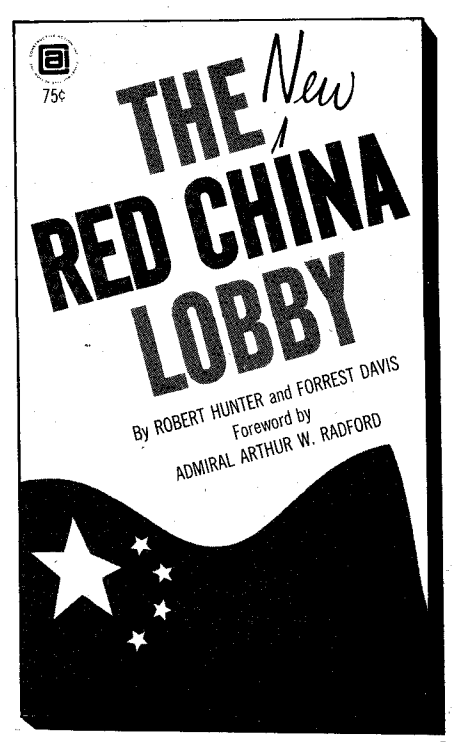
About this time I started looking out the window at the snow and through my Yellow Pages to see if there might be someplace with a sale on snowshoes. Who knows, if you mounted motors on them. . . .

(Copyright 1967, Los Angeles *Times*)

RED CHINA IS IN SHAMBLES

"In fact, the only place that the Red Chinese are gaining ground is with the 'intellectuals' in the U.S."—*Admiral Arthur W. Radford*

This book will tell you who, in the U.S.A., and in our own government, is working against a "liberated China."



Is now the time for Chiang Kai-shek to return to the mainland and liberate the people of China?

"If genuine civil war develops on the mainland, the involvement of the Free Chinese—which less than a year ago seemed to most of the world the emptiest of fantasies—will become a serious possibility. The highly trained Free Chinese forces could be a significant factor in a chaotic, rapidly shifting situation. There are two armored divisions, a marine division and other marine units, more than 15 infantry divisions, and special parachutist and ranger units. The air force has more than 500 American aircraft, including Starfighters (three squadrons) and F-86s (seven squadrons) plus fighter-bomber and reconnaissance squadrons. There are also hundreds of Free Chinese agents infiltrated or recruited on the mainland."—**National Review Bulletin**

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Why College Students Should Reject NSA

Each year more schools leave the National Student Association and each year—pushed by the CIA, it now turns out—this group moves further to the left.

By KEN THOMPSON

When the sensational story of the Central Intelligence Agency's secret financing of the National Student Association was unveiled on the front pages of America's newspapers last month, a great many people became aware of the existence of NSA for the first time.

Although the association is now more than 20 years old and claims to be the largest, most influential student organization in the country, a relatively small segment of the population had heard of it or knew anything about it before its link with the CIA was exposed.

Probably even the vast majority of the million-plus students that NSA claims to "represent" in this country and abroad have been almost totally unaware of how the organization has been "representing" them. A good many undoubtedly had no idea that it was, in fact, "representing" them.

The reason is not difficult to explain. In the first place, there is no such thing as individual membership in NSA. From its inception, the organization has concentrated its recruiting efforts on currying favor with a handful of leaders on college and university campuses.

Where these efforts have been successful, entire student bodies, through the action of their student governments, have been formally affiliated with NSA—even though, in many cases, the vast majority of the students on these campuses may have been completely unaware that they were joining anything. Or, in a great many cases where the students have been informed of the affiliation, they have been overwhelmingly opposed to it.

Normally, however, they have been given no opportunity to register their disapproval or to prevent or annul the affiliation. Only in rare instances have NSA and its campus agents run the risk of going directly to the student body for a vote of approval—and for a very good reason.

On the few occasions that it has taken that risk or been forced to face a student referendum, NSA has usually been overwhelmed by a landslide of votes against affiliation.

Yet in spite of this, NSA claims to speak for some 1.3 million students enrolled in the colleges and universities whose student governments are formally affiliated with it. In fact, it often presumes to "represent" and accurately reflect the viewpoint of all American students. This, of course, is preposterous, for—according to its own figures—only 16 per cent of the schools which are eligible to "join" NSA have chosen to affiliate with it. And the number has declined steadily for the past half decade.

Self-Appointed Spokesmen

From a membership peak of some 350 schools in 1961, the number has dropped to approximately 275. According to the latest records available, 78 colleges and universities—among them some of the nation's largest—have severed their prior connections with NSA during the past five or six years. Another 23 schools considered joining the organization but rejected the idea.

Even NSA's claim to "represent" the relatively small number of schools which have retained their membership is questionable at best. Normally less than half of those schools even bother to send delegates to NSA's annual "Congresses," where the organization takes stands on a wide range of controversial subjects, purporting to represent the viewpoint or consensus of the average American student. And most of the delegates who do attend the "Congresses" are not democratically elected by their fellow students whom they purport to represent.

What it boils down to is that NSA,

When the question of NSA affiliation is put to a student referendum, NSA usually loses. Above, students vote at the University of Texas.

in truth, speaks for only a small group of self-appointed individuals who represent no one but themselves. Until the CIA-NSA scandal exploded in the headlines, the vast majority of America's students were probably unaware of the organization's existence. Much less were they cognizant that it presumed to "represent" them.

The National Student Association, of course, is no stranger to readers of *Human Events*. Throughout its existence, NSA has been exposed in this publication as one of the principal vehicles for left-wing agitation and propaganda among the nation's youth. It has also been an extremely vulnerable—and often all too willing—target for infiltration by the far left.

According to *Ramparts* magazine, which first blew the whistle on NSA's secret CIA financing, NSA "played a crucial role in the formation of [Stokely Carmichael's] Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and was one of its staunchest supporters." It has since cooperated with this radical "Black Power" outfit on several joint projects.

In a recent issue of *Commonweal* magazine, Wilson Carey McWilliams—who has been active in NSA and other leftist youth groups—spotlighted another of the association's important contributions to the American political scene.

"It might be pointed out," noted McWilliams, "that so radical a group as SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] was born as a result of, and incubated during, the National Congresses of NSA, and SDS leaders like Paul Potter were national officers of the Association. There is a charm in the thought of CIA, however indirectly, financing SDS!"

Not many months ago, NSA's current president, Eugene Groves, shared a platform with Bettina Aptheker, a self-proclaimed Communist, at a meeting of various leaders of the "New Left" who assembled to draw up plans for a national student strike this spring to protest America's "aggression" in Viet Nam. Groves describes himself as a "left-wing Democrat." Ed Schwartz, who is NSA's national affairs vice president, says he is well to the left of Groves.

Over the years NSA has taken a number of rather wild and irresponsible positions on some of the more controversial issues of the day. To cite a few examples, its annual "Congresses" have passed resolutions calling for the following:

- Abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.
- Repeal of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Smith Act.
- Admission of Red China to the United Nations.
- Repeal of laws banning the sale of marijuana and LSD.

Foreign Policy Attacked

Its resolutions have also condoned the Japanese student riots which prevented a visit to that country by former President Eisenhower. They have termed the rioting at Berkeley an example of "responsible action" by students and pledged NSA legal support for those arrested. They have censured the United States for putting down violent anti-American riots in Panama.

In the area of civil rights, NSA's official pronouncements have supported the use of the most militant and revolutionary tactics, including "rent strikes," school boycotts and massive civil disobedience.

But it is in the field of foreign policy that NSA's policy statements and resolutions have been most irresponsible—and contradictory.

It has condemned the United States—hence, ironically, the CIA—for intervention in the Bay of Pigs (not, of course, because it was unsuccessful) and the Dominican Republic. But it has called for intervention in the affairs of the Republic of South Africa.

It has condemned the United States for "aggression" in Southeast Asia and demanded that we stop bombing North Viet Nam and call a halt to all offensive military action in South Viet Nam. It has not, however, condemned North Viet Nam for its aggression or demanded that the Viet Cong cease its atrocities, aimed primarily and intentionally at the civilian population in the south.

It has called for the overthrow of Diems and Batistas, but never for the overthrow of the world's Sukarnos and Maos.

So many of NSA's pronouncements have been so extreme in their left-wing bias and so contrary to the interests of the United States that it is not surprising that it has frequently attracted the interest and support of various Red-front groups and their leaders. Its actions have even, on occasion, been blessed with mild editorial endorsements from *The Worker*, the Communist party's official newspaper.

What is surprising to many, however, is that for 15 years the Central Intelligence Agency has been secretly financing a good many of NSA's activities. Apparently more than $3 million of the taxpayers' money has been channeled through an assortment of dummy foundations and other CIA conduits into the NSA treasury. By some accounts the CIA has underwritten up to 80 per cent of the association's expenses since 1952.

The argument used by those who are now defending the CIA-NSA link is that the only way of communicating successfully with students in other parts of the world and to combat communism among the youth abroad is to enlist the services of American students who speak their language—or something very close to it. Thus the CIA was only being pragmatic—and looking out for America's best interests—in underwriting NSA's international activities.

In won't wash! In the first place, the CIA's assistance, in effect, helped to prop up NSA's fraudulent claim that it serves as an accurate barometer of student opinion in America. Thus, the CIA helped to distort the image of American students abroad. When NSA condemns U.S. policy in Viet Nam and claims to be speaking for the average American student, it is behaving at least as irresponsibly as Berkeley's beatniks, whose noisy demonstrations invite Ho

NSA to Be Maj

At two major American universities—Southern Methodist in Dallas and Southern California in Los Angeles—a couple dozen student body leaders have been sporting red faces for more than a month.

By decree of their student governments, both schools decided to join the National Student Association shortly before its connection with the Central Intelligence Agency was exposed—in SMU's case, two weeks before the bomb exploded, and at SC only two days before.

In both cases the action was rather typical of how NSA and its campus agents operate.

At SMU, the organization dispatched two recruiters to the campus in late January. As usual, they made no effort to sell the association's merits to the students themselves; instead, they conferred quietly with members of the Student Senate, which met a few days later, on January 31, to consider joining NSA.

Shortly before the meeting, several campus conservatives got wind of these developments and secured a promise from the student body president that no final decision on NSA would be made at the meeting. However, after listening to a plea from another NSA official who was flown in from California to address them, the members of the Senate voted by a margin of 15 to 6 to join the association. The motion to join was submitted by the same student body president who had promised that a decision would not be made.

Two days later opponents of NSA circulated a petition on campus demanding that a student referendum be held. Within six hours they had secured 1,300 signatures. On the day the CIA story broke, the Student Senate decided to reconsider its decision. When it met a week later, it was obvious even to NSA's staunchest supporters that the vast ma-

Mr. Thompson, formerly on the staff of Human Events *and the Dallas* Morning News, *is now Associate Editor of the Richmond (Va.)* Times-Dispatch.

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Chi Minh to misjudge our true intentions and resolve.

It should also be noted that the CIA by no means restricted its generosity to NSA's international program.

The agency apparently picked up the tab for a $140,000 deficit run up by NSA on a disastrous college bookstore venture. What that had to do with foreign policy, intelligence operations or national security is anybody's guess.

It also apparently covered a great many of NSA's administrative costs, including a 15-year lease, rent free, for the organization's Washington headquarters. It seems highly likely that, without such assistance, NSA might very well have folded its tent before this in view of the fact that its membership has been steadily declining throughout the present decade.

From Albatross to Asset

In any event, without the helping hand of the CIA, NSA certainly could not have exercised the degree of liberal and leftist influence it has brought to bear in purely domestic political affairs.

When the story of NSA's link with the CIA broke, the immediate assumption of many was that this would finish the organization for good; by its blundering, the CIA had accomplished in one flurry of headlines what Young Americans for Freedom and other conservative groups had been trying for years to do.

That may have been wishful thinking. For NSA's leaders are busily regrouping their forces and making a concerted effort to turn the CIA albatross into an asset.

A few years ago, NSA's over-zealous recruiters at the University of Indiana bought a full-page ad in the student newspaper featuring an endorsement of NSA as a "spearhead in the fight against communism" from none other than the House Committee on Un-American Activities—which NSA was, and still is, in favor of abolishing. The endorsement, of course, was a complete fraud. But NSA was desperate. It didn't want to lose Indiana.

Equally desperate today, NSA's spokesmen at Southern Methodist University (see separate story on opposite page) are contending that the organization couldn't possibly be as left-wing as everybody has been saying, or the CIA wouldn't have even considered subsidizing it.

Some of NSA's officials are so desperate that they're even willing to peddle the major thesis of *Ramparts* magazine, which broke the story of the CIA link. According to *Ramparts*, what the whole story boiled down to was that the CIA's well-heeled militarists and right-wingers have bought off a group of once idealistic youngsters who sold their radicalism for 30 pieces of silver and a guaranteed exemption from the draft.

The thesis fits in neatly with the image that has been created for the CIA. To quote Walter Lippmann—and who is a better authority on the shibboleths of the left?—"The CIA has become the universal scapegoat for any rightist activity which people on the left and in the center dislike."

Because it has become the left's *bete noire*, conservatives have automatically rushed to its defense, assuming that it must be one of the very last outposts of good sense and right thinking in the federal establishment.

Is either assumption valid? Is it possible that both liberals and conservatives have misjudged the CIA?

Time magazine recently noted that a State Department veteran once confessed that "You'll find more liberal intellectuals per square inch at CIA than anywhere else in the government."

The *New Republic* quotes a former NSA leader as having said: "I used to think the CIA was some horrible Fascist conspiracy. Then I discovered it was a treasure-trove of liberalism, the one refuge for liberals during the McCarthy period."

Even *Ramparts* conceded that NSA's staff members who were told the secret of the CIA subsidy were tipped off that "in working with the CIA, they would be providing the information that would help get a more enlightened [i.e., more liberal] foreign policy presented in high Washington circles."

Mike Wood, a former NSA fund-raiser who gave *Ramparts* much of the information on which its expose was based, told an audience at the University of Virginia two weeks ago that whatever pressure the CIA applied on NSA came in the form of directing its international representatives to take a liberal-radical position on issues.

Wilson Carey McWilliams, writing in *Commonweal*, confirms Wood's story. "The substantive effect of NSA's relations with CIA," he says, "may come as a surprise to the liberal mind: Its ties to the agency almost certainly *pulled NSA to the left in its political stance*" [McWilliams' italics]. He adds that NSA's national affairs vice president, Edward Schwartz, has admitted that "to his knowledge CIA financing and support had never been exerted or employed for *other than* liberal goals."

A 'Naive' CIA?

McWilliams also recalls an episode from his own experience with NSA. At the association's annual congress in 1960, some of the officers who apparently were cooperating with the CIA recommended that a resolution be adopted which "supported the aims of the Cuban revolution."

The reaction of many of the delegates was "hostile," says McWilliams—for after all, this was 18 months after Castro had come to power and revealed for all the world to see that he had far more in common with Lenin than George Washington. "A large number of delegates were eager to proceed to a severe indictment of 'Castroite totalitarianism,'" says McWilliams.

"At this point," he continues, "the 'conspiracy machinery' began to grind into painful public operation: national leaders held hurried 'secret' sessions; mysterious calls and visitations occurred; mistaking me for an 'insider,' a national official eagerly told me just why the International Commission's resolution must be passed. Those who were 'witty' (privy to the secret of the tie to CIA in the argot of the NSA leadership) had assured him, he said in stage-conspirator whispers, that NSA's influence overseas depended on the association's being friendly toward the Cuban revolution's goals; important 'contacts' felt the resolution essential."

In light of all this evidence, it is becoming increasingly difficult to explain away the scandal of the NSA subsidy by simply contending that the CIA must have been misinformed or naive. This is particularly true now that the names of so many other beneficiaries of CIA largess have been revealed—with but a few exceptions, the vast majority of them well to the left of center.

It's an unpleasant thought, but perhaps the CIA knew exactly what it was doing when it gave the Institute of International Labor Research (headed by Norman Thomas, Juan Bosch on the faculty) more than $1 million to organize and assist leftist parties in Latin America.

It takes an awful lot of misinformation and naivete to pick Norman Thomas and Juan Bosch to serve as generals in the war against communism.

YAF vs. NSA: Student Editor Confused

An interesting footnote to the NSA battle at SMU: The editor of its newspaper, **The SMU Campus,** ought to be blushing at least as deep a red as the color on the faces of the student body leaders who were embarrassed by the disclosure of NSA's ties to the CIA shortly after they decided to join the association.

When copies of "The NSA Report"—a booklet put out by Young Americans for Freedom which was extremely critical of the association—were introduced in the campaign, the editor assailed YAF as a well-heeled organization which "spends its time and money on publications to attack NSA rather than offering any constructive programs on its own. NSA, however, has a small budget for publicity. . . ." It's had to struggle along on a mere $3 million from the CIA, while YAF has been wallowing in all that lucre—perhaps a couple hundred grand a year, not a penny of it from the government.

In another editorial, the **Campus** described YAF's booklet as sneaky propaganda. "Contrary to popular belief," it said, the booklet is "not a publication of NSA, but of Young Americans for Freedom. . . many who did not read the fine print mistook this booklet for NSA literature." Oh, come on, now! Every word in that booklet must have been in print too fine for the paper's editor and anyone else who could possibly have mistaken it for anything but a complete—and extremely well researched, reasoned and written—assault on NSA.

But such are the tactics of NSA's champions.

Issue in SMU and USC Elections

rity of SMU's students opposed affiliaon with the association. But NSA ceived powerful assists from several urces.

The campus newspaper had outdone elf lobbying in behalf of NSA. The iiversity's president, Dr. Willis Tate, served that the issue was "clearly one r the students to decide," but promptadded that he had confidence in the nate to make the right decision with- it a student referendum and defended SA against charges that it is an "exmist" group.

A professor who was supposed to be the impartial moderator at the only public debate held on the subject made such obviously biased remarks as: "I'm pleased to see that SMU is entering the 20th Century."

Just before the Senate voted on the tter, its presiding officer pleaded with colleagues: "Vote according to your n convictions rather than try to be presentative of the student body." ey did just that, deciding by a margin 12 to 10 to reaffirm their earlier deion to join NSA without permitting students to vote on the issue. They ren't about to make that mistake. en at the University of Texas, which far more radical than SMU, the stuits voted by a wide margin to withw from NSA a couple of years ago. d at SMU, in fact, on two prior asions the student body had voted rwhelming against joining NSA.

Although the students at SMU have n prevented from voting directly on SA, the association is still an imrtant issue in the upcoming student vernment elections. If several proSA members of the Senate are defeated, is expected that body will then reverse controversial vote to affiliate.

At Southern California—which had hdrawn from NSA a decade ago—student body's executive council voted on February 12 to reaffiliate with the association.

Here again there was no effort made to win over the student body; that perhaps would have been futile and was unnecessary in any event. For NSA had a powerful ally in Taylor Hackford, USC's student body president, who had been wined and wooed last summer in Wisconsin at the association's annual congress.

The day after the vote was taken, the Young Republicans on campus circulated a petition demanding a referendum. When the CIA story broke, the Young Democrats and the campus chapter of Students for a Democratic Society—both of which initially opposed the referendum (it was probably too democratic, small "d")—switched their position. Significantly, however, they did not urge the students to vote against NSA in the referendum which they were now in favor of conducting.

Hackford opposed letting the students decide the matter "because it's such an emotional issue that I don't want it on the ballot."

And the campus newspaper chimed in with a charge that the Young Republicans, by calling for a referendum, "are undermining student government at USC." The students, it said, were not well enough informed. Stupid clods! However did they manage in the first place to elect such brilliant leaders who must make all their decisions for them?

Unlike SMU, the student government at USC is required to hold a referendum if a sufficient number of students demand one. The YRs had no trouble getting more than enough signatures on their petition. So in early April a vote on the entire student body will be taken, and the betting is better than even that NSA will lose.

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Reuther Will Bolt AFL-CIO, Forge Alliance with Bobby Kennedy

By VICTOR RIESEL

Atlantic City:—For decades labor history has tramped the boardwalk here. And now Walter Reuther has decided to jog along with it.

He has decided to take a fast walk right out of the AFL-CIO.

His intimates, gathered here at a cataclysmic and catalytic United Auto Workers skilled craftsmen conference, report that the auto union chief has definitely decided to take his massive union out of George Meany's coalition.

From now on, they say, it is merely a matter of timing—and "Walter" is a master timer.

But as Reuther has thought it all out in the Fort Myers, Fla., retreat, he will not walk alone for long. He is, if anything, a man of imaginative political instincts. And so he will attempt to forge a mighty labor-political alliance with Bob Kennedy.

But first things first. The exodus will come when the Reuther brothers believe they can hit with the most dramatic impact. They are ready. They need but the technical approval of the "special" policy convention in late April. They have alerted hundreds of local auto union leaders in New York, Illinois, Michigan and California.

Each will know how to move when Reuther, in an administration white paper, gives the signal by calling a special international executive board meeting any time after May 1st. Already some auto union councils are splitting from central and state AFL-CIO bodies.

Reuther may wait until he gets a contract with the Big Three auto companies—and it will be a good one—sometime in November after a tough strike. Then his legions will march. And they are well equipped for the political and sociological wars.

His auto union is a massive federation within itself. It has a political arm in its Citizenship Councils; a welfare and senior citizens division in its Community Services and Retired Workers Department; civil rights machinery in a hundred cities, especially Chicago, where it is tied into the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Martin Luther King and the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations; and a global international department.

The UAW is the financial sponsor of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and so is set for alliance with thousands of "working poor" units. The International union is in everything from anti-air pollution to Medicare counselling centers.

It is, in effect, the mass sociological base needed by Sen. Robert Kennedy's national organization—call this latter what you will, a "government in exile" or simply what it is, the Kennedy wing of the Democratic party, historically a many-winged entity.

For Walter Reuther and Bob Kennedy, this means doing what comes naturally. They have been friends for a long time.

Close collaboration began when Barry Goldwater demanded that the McClellan Committee probe the auto union. Reuther loved this. He dispatched his executive assistant, Jack Conway, to work

UAW chieftain Walter Reuther is willing to wait until 1972 for Bobby's presidential race, if necessary.

with the committee's counsel, the young Bobby Kennedy.

From all this flowered a beautiful friendship. To this day Jack Conway is the liaison between Reuther and the senator. To this day "Walter" is American labor to Kennedy and his brain trust, Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Co.

To this day the auto union envoy to the Kennedy forces is Walter's younger brother, Victor.

To this day the Reuther-Kennedy milieu share their lack of enthusiasm over Meany and the "old-line" AFL-CIO unions.

To this day the Reuther-Kennedy-Schlesinger disdain for the Federation hawks is one of the most common denominators of both camps.

To this day President Johnson and George Meany run neck and neck as butts for the inside jokes and outside blistering attacks by the Reuther-Kennedy policy-makers.

Thus, it is not likely that Bob Kennedy ever could get mass support from American labor. So he needs a mass base—and this Reuther might be able to supply in the big cities as well as on the agricultural front.

In the 1964 and 1966 campaigns the national auto union cencentrated its money and manpower on Kennedy candidates. Of course, Walter Reuther looks ahead to a Bob Kennedy Administration. The Detroiter has cut his conduits to a Johnson White House.

If Kennedy makes it in '68, so much the better for Reuther. But '72 would satisfy the auto union chief, too. By that time, he will be 65 years old—and in his last term as UAW president. What then? There is precedent.

Is not his old lawyer, Arthur Goldberg, the spokesman for the United States before the eyes of the world in the United Nations? Does not "Arthur" have as much influence on American foreign policy as Secretary of State Dean Rusk? Do not people talk of "Arthur" as the next secretary of state?

Would such an arena not be the place for Walter Reuther's final conflict?

This is what some of those close to the "redhead" say his dreams are made of these days.

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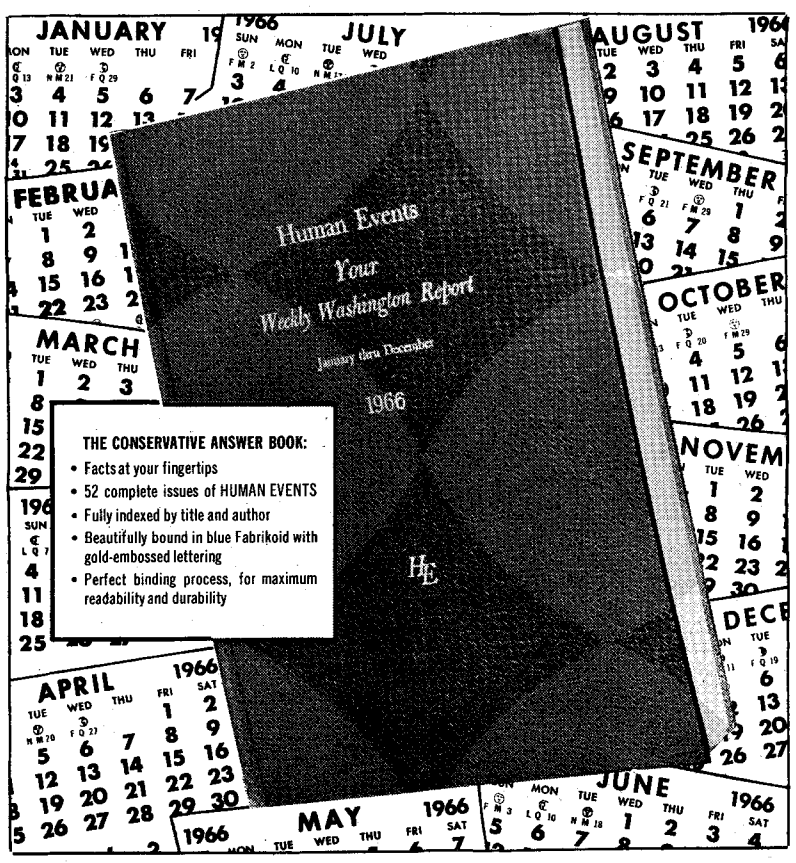
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President Johnson has asked Sen. John Sparkman (D.-Ala.), left, and Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Tex.), chairmen of the respective Senate and House Banking and Currency Committees, to introduce the enacting legislation that would open the doors for increased East-West trade.

LBJ Quietly Pushes Gimmick To Finance Increased Red Trade

From the Allen-Scott Report

President Johnson is vigorously pushing a little-noticed bill whose principal aim is to finance the expansion of trade with the Soviet bloc.

The Administration proposal, a key part of the President's program of building bridges to the Iron Curtain, would give the Export-Import Bank a $4.5-billion increase in lending authority.

As outlined in letters to Democratic congressional leaders, the measure would raise the amount the Export-Import Bank can loan or guarantee to $13.5 billion from $9 billion.

Also, the amount the bank can loan or guarantee each year would be boosted from $2 billion to $3.5 billion.

While these increases could be used to finance U.S. trade with any nation, the legislative leaders were told that the chief purpose is to expand trade with Communist nations.

Under present law the Export-Import Bank can grant direct credit or guarantee private loans for U.S. sales to Eastern European nations except East Germany and Albania. Also, the bank can underwrite only agricultural sales.

This authority was voted during the closing days of the last Congress.

Except for several minor deals, the Export-Import Bank has been unable to finance large sales to the Soviet bloc because most of its lending authority is committed to trade with Western undeveloped countries.

If Congress approves the increased lending authority, Administration spokesmen are frankly saying 50 per cent of it will be used for trade with Communist regimes.

In a move to expand non-stragetic trade with Russia, the President is also seeking permission to use the Export-Import Bank to finance goods other than agriculture products.

At present the bank, with Administration approval, is circumventing the legislative bar against financing such sales by underwriting the purchases by European firms of U.S. goods that eventually wind up in Russia.

A widely publicized instance of this is the transaction now being negotiated with Fiat, the Italian auto manufacturer. This firm has contracted to build several assembly plants in the Soviet Union.

Under a three-way deal, the Export-Import Bank will loan between $30 million and $60 million to the Italian company to purchase U.S. machine tools for use in the Russian plants.

Despite the nature and significance of the Administration's proposal, it has so far gone almost unnoticed in Congress because of the manner in which it was submitted.

Instead of being transmitted with a White House message, the $4.5-billion plan was submitted with a one-page letter from the Export-Import Bank.

After the letter was dispatched, President Johnson phoned Sen. John Sparkman (D.-Ala.) and Rep. Wright Patman (D.-Tex.), chairmen of the Senate and House Banking and Currency Committees, and asked them to introduce implementing legislation.

When they agreed, bills drafted in the White House were delivered to them and quietly introduced.

Subsequently Sparkman, Patman and Democratic leaders of the Senate and House were summoned to the White House and briefed on the primary intent of the legislation and the need for speedy action.

With ratification of the U.S.-Soviet consular treaty out of the way, the Administration now will throw its full weight behind the Export-Import Bank bill as another step in the policy of "building bridges to the East."

The legislation, however, now faces strong congressional opposition.

House Republican leaders are bent on blocking Administration efforts to provide financing for expanding trade with Communist countries. As part of this drive, the GOP House Policy Committee is preparing literature challenging the value of such trade.

* * *

Svetlana Stalin, daughter of the late Soviet dictator, is not the first Russian to be refused U.S. asylum in recent years.

While none was as prominent as Stalin's daughter, six were military officers who provided NATO with valuable intelligence. All of them now live in Europe under U.S. "protection."

Their requests for U.S. asylum were rejected for the same reason as that of Stalin's daughter—"embarrassment" to the U.S. in its relations with the Soviet.

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France's Problem:

Misrepresentative Government

By HENRY HAZLITT

The French parliamentary elections were a setback not only for President Charles de Gaulle, but for all who are perturbed by the power and influence of the Communists. And one irony is that the election result may not have reflected the true wishes of the French people, but the distortions produced by a clumsy and defective method of election.

The composition of the French National Assembly depends on two elections—a first ballot and a run-off a week later. On the first ballot, only a candidate who obtains an absolute majority of all the votes cast in his constituency is declared elected.

If no candidate obtains such an absolute majority, then a run-off must be held in that district on the following Sunday. In the run-off, only those candidates who received a vote on the first ballot equal to 10 per cent of the registrants are eligible to compete, but this time a candidate need obtain only a plurality to be elected.

It would seem almost impossible to devise a worse elective system. A run-off election involves needless expense, time and effort. Its only excuse is that it may at least prevent the candidate who got the largest number of votes on the first ballot, but who may be the most disliked by the majority of voters in his district, from being elected.

But the French run-off does not even assure that. It still allows more than two candidates in each race, and it still permits a minority choice to win. On top of that, it permits political deals, based on what has been learned from the first ballot, that can further distort the representative character of the outcome.

This is what happened in the French elections. On the first ballot, in which candidates needed a majority to win, only 73 of the 486 seats were filled. In the run-off, in which a plurality was enough for victory, the Gaullists found themselves facing a political pact between the Communists and the non-Communist left, who united behind the candidate of either who was best placed to win.

So the Gaullists lost 40 seats, ending with a total of 244, a bare one-seat majority in the assembly (assuming that result stands). The Communists nearly doubled their strength from 41 seats to 73. The non-Communist federation of the left won 116 seats (a gain of 25). The moderately rightist democratic center party dropped 27 seats (a loss of 13).

The result would have been almost certainly less unfavorable to the center if a better election method had been used.

Even when there are three or more candidates in the field, a special run-off election is unjustified. All that is necessary is an original ballot that permits each voter not only to indicate his first choice but, if he wishes, his second or later choices. Then he can vote for his first choice without feeling that he is throwing his vote away or that he is helping to elect the candidate he most fears.

This is known as majority preferential voting. There are several systems, with different ways of marking and counting ballots, and some are better and simpler than others.

Their purpose is to determine which candidate is most preferred by a majority of all the voters. The best of them do this far more cheaply, quickly and accurately than a run-off election, especially a run-off election of the French type.

It is a strange paradox that a world that has developed the most delicate and marvelous precision instruments in the field of science and industry still uses the crudest blunderbuss methods to determine the will of the voters.

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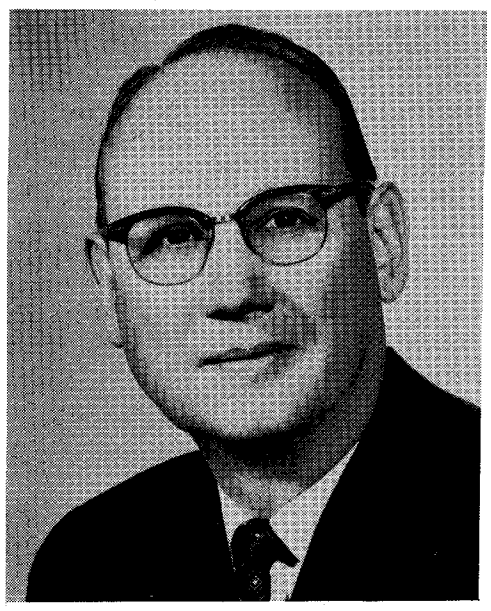
Why Does the U.S. Soft-Pedal Viet Cong Atrocities?

After months of frustration in trying to get official figures on Viet Cong terrorist acts and atrocities against South Vietnamese citizens, Rep. Ross Adair (R.-Ind.) has concluded that the Administration "is doing absolutely nothing to counteract the charges made by the left wing that the American forces are terrorizing the Vietnamese."

"The figures on Viet Cong atrocities are available to the government," an Adair spokesman told *Human Events*, "but no one government agency—the Defense Department, the USIA or the Agency for International Development—is mobilized to release and use this information to effectively rebut the leftists' charges. These Viet Cong terrorist acts are a perfect way to show what we are fighting against and that it is the Communists who are guilty of atrocities, but the Administration is not exploiting this information effectively; there are no instructions for anyone to push this information at all."



Rep. Ross Adair (R.-Ind.) fought government red tape for months before obtaining atrocity figures and getting them declassified.

Adair's conclusions were reached after months of fruitless search 77 to obtain figures on Viet Cong atrocities, a request he originally believed would take only a few days.

The Indiana Republican, ranking GOP member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, first asked the Department of Defense for the figures in January, but received no reply; when Secretary of State Dean Rusk, South Vietnamese Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara came to Capitol Hill for congressional testimony or briefings, Adair asked them for the figures; the officials politely promised to look into the matter, but no results were forthcoming.

Weeks after Adair's original request, a staff aide read a newspaper account of a purported Defense Department report on terrorist acts in South Viet Nam. Upon inquiry, the aide was told it was not a Defense report, but rather an Agency for International Development report; in turn, AID told Adair's man the report came from the United States Information Agency; the USIA at first denied existence of such a document, but finally was able to produce a copy.

"Everyone was pointing at everyone else," says Adair's assistant, "until we finally came up with something. I don't think this is any example of government secrecy, but is instead a case of no one being prepared to use this information."

Once Rep. Adair received the atrocity figures, however, they were classified "for limited official use only." The congressman had then to get them declassified for publication purposes.

Once the melange of red tape was slowly snipped away, the government figures showed that between July 1965 and December 1966 the Viet Cong were responsible for the killing of 2,429 Vietnamese citizens, including government officials and employes, and abducting another 7,126; for the six-month period from July-December 1966 alone, the Viet Cong killed 118 South Vietnamese civilian leaders, wounder 114 and abducted 74.

After viewing the figures, Rep. Adair announced "I am astonished that these figures were not used long ago to offset the Communist propaganda that is misleading so many people in this country and elsewhere. Whenever one of our air attacks inadvertently causes North Viet Nam civilian casualties, great headlines tell the story. But the murder, abduction and general terrorizing of South Viet Nam civilians by the Communists seem to be almost a government secret. Why? The casualties we cause are, of course, accidental. But the Communist killing of civilians is deliberate."

As a further example of Administration failure to take full advantage of these terrorist acts, Rep. Adair's office points out that the Defense Department's press information office, which daily attracts hordes of American and foreign newsmen, will not release photographs and figures on Viet Cong atrocities unless they are formally asked for them. "The Defense Department people say they don't have any means to distribute this information," says an aide to Rep. Adair, "but you can bet if it was something the Administration *wanted* the public to know about, they would find the means in a hurry."

When contacted by *Human Events*, the United States Information Agency, overseer of all U.S. propaganda efforts abroad, replied that, whatever the situation might be at home, the Viet Cong terrorist and atrocity information is used abroad. "The answer is a definite yes," said S. I. Nadler of the USIA's office of information. "This information is used worldwide, in all forms of media—newspapers and radio broadcasts included. We use this both to counter attacks on our efforts in Viet Nam and to show what we are fighting against there."

Rep. Adair, when told of this reply, promised that on his next trip abroad he would step into a USIA library to check how good a job they were doing in publicizing this important facet of the Viet Nam war.

□ □ □

FOOD TO UN-NEEDY—The watchdog General Accounting Office disclosed recently that as much as $10 million worth of government surplus food was distributed to ineligible families in one city, Philadelphia, because local officials failed to update eligibility lists. In a report to Congress, GAO investigators said that 37 per cent of families receiving the surplus foods exceeded the income limits set by law. An additional 12 per cent received more food than they were entitled to, the GAO said.

The Issues in the Dodd Case

By RAYMOND MOLEY

If the investigation of the finances of Sen. Thomas Dodd were a criminal prosecution, it would be unfortunate if not wrong to comment upon the evidence until a verdict had been reached. But the hearings now concluded were held by the Senate's Select Committee on Standards and Conduct, generally known as the "ethics" committee. Thus, the committee headed by Sen. John Stennis (D.-Miss.) is not a prosecuting agency, and for that reason some guarded comments are admissible.

We can be certain that Chairman Stennis represents the finest, most independent and most intelligent standards in public life, a judgment in which a great majority of his senatorial colleagues would concur.

Stennis in his long public career has never been prominent in the headlines. His temperament is in keeping with his earlier career as a judge. He appears only occasionally in the *Congressional Record,* but when he does it is because of a speech that displays high intelligence and measured restraint. And it is interesting that he has come from a state, Mississippi, that has been excoriated in the press as benighted and lawless.

A major conclusion that one must reach after reading the testimony of Dodd's accusers and his own defense before the committee and on the Senate floor—and especially after an examination of the stipulations of facts agreed upon by Sen. Dodd and the committee—is that Dodd conducted the affairs of his office as well as his personal finances with incredible carelessness and inefficiency.

But as the committee will no doubt say, the purpose of a senatorial investigation is not to pass judgment upon the efficiency of senators. If that were the purpose, there would be indescribable confusion and little gain.

The incompetence of Dodd lay in the careless handling of his finances, in the bad choice of members of his staff and his failure to protect himself against the reprehensible conduct of some of his employes. Whether he conducted his affairs with efficiency was a matter for the judgment of the voters of his state in the light of what could have been revealed in his campaign for re-election.

The major issue for the committee to decide is whether there was misrepresentation, coming close to fraud, in the soliciting and use of contributions, either directly or through the time-worn method of testimonial dinners.

I have never known that the beneficiaries of testimonial dinners have been in the habit of using such proceeds for personal use. Nor can I understand why such proceeds when used for personal purposes are not taxable. Certainly, this is something that the Stennis committee should clear up. For since that committee is specifically charged with setting "standards" of ethical conduct, it should make clear what use should be made of such contributions.

So far as double billing for transportation is concerned, Dodd may be innocent. As everyone who incurs expenses chargeable to an expense account knows, such details are the responsibility of secretaries or bookkeepers. And by the evidence adduced, the people whom Dodd had in his office were utterly unworthy of bearing such responsibility.

The sordid business of the looting of Dodd's personal files by disgruntled employes and the handing over of that material to journalists for publication cries out for some sort of censure from the profession of journalism, if it is in truth a self-governing profession. Certainly this sort of thing would be subject to some sort of action in the legal or medical profession.

I have been a journalist for 34 years, and I have always regarded such a means of getting news as beyond the pale. I know that hundreds of my colleagues share my views on the subject. The Supreme Court has spoken about the methods of prosecuting and investigatory agencies in getting evidence. Protection should extend to the rifling of anyone's private correspondence and records.

Finally, the entire episode should call to the high heavens for better ways of supporting the financial needs of candidates for public office than fund-raising dinners. They are nothing less than legalized shakedowns from people who for the most part are either expectant of favors or paying off for past benefits.

How about a strong statement from the Stennis committee on that general subject?

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Explaining Viet Nam

Administration, Not Peaceniks, Has Made War Unpopular

By FREDERIC NELSON

"You have to have a boy out there to feel the way we do," said a woman I know who has a boy out there—Viet Nam, that is. Her sentiments are easy to understand.

War, to be popular, or even to be tolerated, has to have an "image." It can be a crusade ("Make the world safe for democracy"), or a matter of life and death ("Only the British fleet stands between us and a Nazi victory"). People have to be convinced that their sacrifices, and those of their sons, are vitally necessary when the scene of combat is far away and the reasons for our being there poorly stated.

The unpopularity of the Viet Nam war has not been created by the peacenik propaganda against it, but by the Administration's ineptitude.

The United States Senate ratifies a treaty permitting our No. 1 enemy to set up spy organizations in our cities, and we are supposed to be shocked because American mothers are upset when their sons are drafted for service up to their necks in Asian jungles!

Bobby Kennedy, Sen. Fulbright, the raucous Women Strike for Peace, etc., etc., are not concerned with the miseries of the boys in the swamps and jungles, or even with the Vietnamese babies who, according to peace propaganda, are being "genocided" by our bombardiers. However, the insincerity of the pitch of most of this selling campaign does not mean that it is ineffective.

Despite the general support of the war, as revealed in the polls, too many reasonable and generally well-informed people have doubts about this enterprise to make for over-confidence. Politicians do not wobble on popular issues.

I have not been appointed to do President Johnson's home work for him, but somebody has to if the nation is not to be split down the middle on a question to which the people should have been able to give the right answer long ago.

The Administration's version is that we are acting in defense of a small country which has been overrun by an aggressive neighbor. All very well so far, but skeptics may still ask why we are more concerned with this attack than we have been with other attacks on weak neighbors: the Soviet smashing of the would-be free Hungarians; the Red Chinese destruction of pacific Tibet; the suppression of the uprising in East Germany, to name a few. And we seem disconcertingly calm about the existence of a Communist satellite in Cuba.

If we are supposed to be St. George, how come we pick our dragons so far away, and ignore equally ferocious ones closer to home?

What the distracted mothers, et al., need to be told more precisely than they have been is that this fracas is only the latest confrontation with the Communist world conspiracy, a confrontation which will certainly be repeated until the global Communist threat collapses internally from its own inconsistencies, or is squelched for keeps—or until the West, through a series of retreats, compromises and "accommodations," eventually surrenders. Viet Nam is only an episode in a "century of conflict," as Prof. Stefan Possony of Georgetown University has called the agony of our time.

Such a square-toed statement of the reasons for Viet Nam would leave the Kennedy-Morse-Fulbright dissenters, and their more disorderly allies, in an indefensible position. Either they would be revealed as woefully ignorant of—or indifferent to—the facts, or as the instruments, however unwilling, of Soviet policy.

This is not a comfortable dilemma to be on the horn of, but it is an inevitable one, once the disastrous consequences of a Red victory or a free world defeat were understood. The British, it is said, didn't *win* the war; they *endured* it. At least as much endurance, not only against the enemy but against the wiles of his Fifth Column in our midst, is demanded of the West now.

But how much endurance can be expected of mothers and kids with better things to do than get shot at in Asia, when the enemy we are supposed to be fighting is only occasionally recognized as an enemy?

We bomb him in Viet Nam, but greet him elsewhere with concessions and privileges more tempting than those accorded our allies. The aforesaid mother might well comment: "My boy is supposed to take it in Viet Nam but in Washington senators were so eager to ratify this consular treaty that they wouldn't even insist that the Russians stop sending weapons to North Viet Nam!"

She might have added that even Socialist Britain is delaying ratification of its consular treaty with the USSR until British lecturer Gerald Brooke is sprung from a Soviet dungeon. The poor woman might also have mentioned the eagerness of businessmen and industrialists to do business with the Communists, an eagerness reminiscent of similar optimism by other so-called leaders to get into the Japanese market back in the pre-Pearl Harbor era.

In short, if she threw up her hands and shouted, "Isn't any body fighting this war but my boy?" who would condemn her?

It is impossible not to sympathize with President Johnson, mocked and derided for waging even an inconclusive war against Communist aggression. But it would be easier to go all the way in his behalf if he didn't seem determined to make things as difficult for himself as he can.

Despite the uneasiness and wavering in many quarters, he has the majority of Americans on his side for a victory over communism in Viet Nam. He would have even better support if he would make it clearer that he favors a victory over communism, period. If he would forget about building bridges to countries which plot our destruction; talk less about conference tables and more about winning, and give all of us understanding of the fact that this is a war we can't afford to lose, his popular support would be overwhelming. Although he hasn't made the issues in Viet Nam as clear as he could do, the President is entitled to high marks for stepping up the military action.

Of course sometimes there has to be negotiation. In the late stages of World War II negotiations were carried on with Italians and Germans considered capable of bringing off surrenders in limited areas. But we built no bridges to Hitler or Mussolini. Perhaps peace terms more realistic than "unconditional surrender" would have made these efforts more fruitful than they were. Undoubtedly we were too sticky about permitting Japan to retain its emperor. But in neither theater did we compromise our advantage by handing over valuable assets before the negotiations even started.

This time, while the conflict rages and the casualties mount, we offer the Communists an "anti-proliferation" treaty which appears to deny nuclear weapons to our supposed allies while leaving the two great Communist nations in full possession of theirs! Just what can be expected from negotiating with another side which has been assured that we don't regard his hostility as hostile at all, or expect him to do a little conceding too?

In all decency to Mom and her doubting friends, we might delay the shipments of machine tools, the setting up of Soviet consulates, the signing of arms treaties of no demonstrable advantage to the United States, at least until there is reason to believe—aside from editorials in the New York *Times*—that the Communist threat has become nonexistent.

While questions are asked at home, life is over for these men of the U.S. 1st AirCav Division who were slain by North Vietnamese regulars in South Viet Nam's central highlands.

Just What to Negotiate In Viet Nam Is Unclear

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

President Johnson said in Nashville something about Viet Nam which he had not previously stated. Yet somehow by his very appearance, his earnest manner of speaking, his stern attitude, he cast light on the difference between his purpose and that of those Kennedy Democrats whom Barry Goldwater calls "panty waists."

The contrast lies in the fact that the peace which both sides said they desired was not the same peace. In consequence, they both insisted on the need for negotiations. Neither side had hitherto made it clear just what it is ready to negotiate.

"Peace," to President Johnson, is a situation in which North Viet Nam will have withdrawn its troops and military aid from the Viet Cong and allowed the South Vietnamese to re-establish a regime free from communism, or at least from rebellious Communists murdering peasants and officials in the villages.

"Peace" to Secretary Rusk means an effective cork stuck in the funnel through which Mao Tse-tung, in Peking, Ho in Hanoi and Kosygin in Moscow had planned to pour communism into Thailand, Malaysia, India and Pakistan (just for a start). It means effective "containment."

But to "peaceniks" like Senators Kennedy and Fulbright, "negotiations" are a cover word for any "peace" that will get our boys home. They do not believe in the insatiable ambition of communism, at least "not any more."

They think that Mao Tse-tung is "more of a nationalist than a Communist," in spite of the current evidence that he is trying to destroy all that is left of Chinese civilization and instill a Marxism so primitive that it makes the Russians laugh. They insist that Ho in Hanoi is more afraid of Mao than he is of America.

Kosygin and Brezhnev, through fear of Red China, are "really on our side," want to end the war in Viet Nam, and only give Ho the arms with which he continues fighting because otherwise they would justify Mao's charges that Moscow is "betraying the Communist revolution."

What the peaceniks are implying is that "containment" of Communist aggression is no longer necessary and in the case of Red China probably impossible. Moreover, the United States has little or nothing to fear from Chinese expansion. And that certainly, preventing it—if possible—is not worth more American lives and those billions with which the Democratic Administration could really get on with the "Great Society" (and stabilize party rule) in the United States.

Therefore, they favor any peace with Ho which will permit President Johnson to end the war before the 1968 election.

To President Johnson and Secretary Rusk "negotiations" mean our victory. To the peaceniks they mean washing our hands of Asia—or at least of the Asian mainland and getting the boys home. Neither side is saying what it means.

Let us then hope that after meeting with Gen. Westmoreland and Gen. Ky at Guam, LBJ will go one step further and make clear to all concerned, including the Pope, the U.N. secretary general, President de Gaulle and Prime Ministers Wilson and Indira Gandhi, that no mediation of the conflict is acceptable that does not start with North Viet Nam's renunciation of further efforts to spread communism by force or subversion.

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Beware the Oily Bird!

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I don't say Lewis Carroll was wrong when he warned, "Beware the Jabberwock, my son, the jaws that bite, the claws that catch," but I do say the Jabberwock is nothing compared to that predatory feathered vertebrate, the cuckoo. That's the bird to beware of!

There are many species of cuckoo, but all show the same family traits. They will seize any territory that looks good to them, by fair means or foul, and then claim permament possession; and they have a habit of slipping their eggs into the bottom of other birds' nests to be hatched, which gives them a lot more free time than most parents. Indeed, what with having invented the doctrine of squatter sovereignty and being the first to use baby-sitters, the name cuckoo seems incongruous. Who's loony now?

Even the cuckoo eggs show their genes by being precocious and hatching before the more legitimate ones. They thereupon kick the rightful eggs out of the nest and thus get all the food meant for the brood. The foster parents must often wonder how come, out of five or six ova, they wind up with only one offspring—and that one with no resemblance to his father. A thing like that has been known to lead to the divorce court—with the real parents snickering to themselves.

But, for today's lesson in political ornithology, I propose to concentrate on the human cuckoo, that *rara avis*, the Professional Liberal, popularly known as the Oily Bird, because of the utter unctuousness of his call. (In Brooklyn, he's known as the "oily boid" and is said to subsist entirely on woims, an insect peculiar to the locality.)

Come to think of it, he's not as *rara* as he used to be. On some college campuses—their favorite habitat—the species is as thick as the proverbial fleas on a hound dog. The dog is still there, of course, but you can't see the forest for the fleas.

By much the same method of proliferation, they have taken over the academy groves which gave them sanctuary—tenure is the technical term—and lived to regret it, like the Arab who let the camel into his tent.

When they lift their voices in viscous song, dripping with liberal cliches, the quieter campus voices are drowned out and few know they even exist.

E.g., UCLA has the reputation, like its sibling colleges, of being entirely the abode of the left, a condominium offgrounds to rightists. Yet its economics department has many conservative teachers. Indeed, the famed Milton Friedman of Chicago U. is just now winding up a highly popular three-month session at UCLA.

I say highly popular because I recently attended an extra-curricular evening lecture he delivered to a hall filled with Business School alumni and students. Now it is no secret the prof. was for Goldwater, and I half expected that a group of UCLA cuckoos would burn themselves to death in protest at this desecration of Alma Mater.

But I was grievously disappointed. Not even a riotous lie-down or sit-in. The lecturer was respectfully listened to and his sallies greeted with laughter and applause. Even the question-and-answer period that followed indicated the conservative tinge of the audience.

How then do the Oily Birds contrive to give UCLA the image of a leftish monolith? By using the same methods as their fellow-birds.

Thus, the campus daily is not a free-enterprise product, as many college sheets are, but is subsidized, willy-nilly, out of student fees. And the Oily Birds have managed, by squatter sovereignty, to seize control.

So when the liberal editor attacked Gov. Reagan's tuition plan, he packed the paper with interviews and letters from faculty bigwigs who approved his stand. Never—so I'm assured by a member of his staff—did he ask for an expression from the conservatives of the economics department who lined up with Reagan. And so it looked like a Cook County landslide.

And out of those same student fees came the money to send the editor to a Vietnik meeting in Chicago.

So never mind the Jabberwock. Keep your eyes on the Oily Bird.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Stopping Crime Rise

By REP. LOUIS WYMAN (R.-N.H.)

All the laws in the world will be ineffective against crime if the courts are not just, firm and intelligible in their decisions. Unnecessary confusion, doubt and uncertainty have enshrouded the criminal law of this land in consequence of recent court decisions whose fuzzy, amorphous, libertarian propensities are the determined view of a majority of the U.S. Supreme Court as presently constituted.

There was no need for the court to write these decisions in the way that it has. They are prolix, vague and devastating to effective law enforcement.

It is time that the Congress reviewed decisions of the Supreme Court of the last decade, to see how many of these are remediable by legislation. To the extent they are remediable, Congress should act to give to sorely beleaguered law-enforcement officials the reasonable and necessary powers to protect the vast majority of law-abiding citizens against ever mounting criminal viciousness.

Draft Changes

By REP. ROBERT McCLORY (R.-Ill.)

Perhaps the greatest benefit which has come from the multiple investigations and current active discussions of the draft is the greater interest and awareness which has resulted. Two things appear certain: First, universal service, which would include a large non-military work corps is distasteful to the American citizen and would not have popular support; and, second, a purely voluntary system would appear to be wholly inadequate particularly during a time of armed conflict. It follows, therefore, that the broad principles of our Selective Service system established in peacetime almost 30 years ago, will remain as the means by which our nation recruits the great majority of our military personnel. Finally, it is expected that the Congress will tighten its control over the Selective Service system and in the future will delegate a lesser amount of its authority to the President to exercise by executive order.

De-Stalinization Myth

By SEN. STROM THURMOND (R.-S. C.)

U.S. officials have dissuaded Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, from her desire to seek asylum in the United States. Svetlana Stalin says that she is afraid she will be killed if she returns to the Soviet Union. By totalitarian edict—the policy of "de-Stalinization"—everything associated with Stalin's history is to be downgraded or destroyed. And even though Svetlana Stalin prefers to be known as Madame Alliluyeva, her mother's name, her life is in danger simply because she is Stalin's daughter.

The facts are that de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union is not a sign of mellowing. De-Stalinization is an example of totalitarian thought control. An official order to denounce Stalin is as much an act of tyranny as the order to praise Stalin, and proof of the monolithic nature of communism.

De-Stalinization, therefore, was a deliberate deception to make both the captive Soviet peoples and the world at large think that the cruel nature of communism had changed. . . . Yet it is evident that there is nothing in the Soviet system today, either in theory or practice, which would prevent an instantaneous return to terror and brutality, if the Communist bosses thought there might be a challenge to their power. When Svetlana Stalin still fears for her life at the hands of her father's one-time henchmen, then it is impossible to conclude that the evil of communism has undergone a change.

By turning Svetlana Stalin away from the United States for fear of embarrassing the enemy, the U.S. State Department has fallen into a strange pattern. The Soviets wanted to de-Stalinize the U S S R in order to put a deceptive image of change before their people. U.S. officials by the same token have de-Stalinized the United States—by driving Miss Stalin away—for fear that the false image of communism will be shattered in front of the American people.

Foolish Truce

By REP. TOM MESKILL (R.-Conn.)

Recently I saw actual reconnaissance photos taken during the Lunar New Year truce in Viet Nam. They showed what effective use the enemy made of the lull in the fighting. The activities shown required months of planning by the enemy. We saw river barges being built, almost frantic loading of supplies on trucks, and highways to the south filled with trucks. We saw trucks mounted on railroad tracks to pull supply trains. We saw other activities, all proving how valuable these truce periods are to the enemy. Since the truce ended, our troops have suffered heavy casualties from mortar fire, Russian-supplied rockets and artillery, much of it brought up during the lull we granted them. I hope we will never make such a mistake again. I believe it is absolutely wrong to ask any American soldier, or Korean, or Australian or South Vietnamese soldier to risk his life in this war without taking every possible measure to destroy the enemy's capacity to kill him.

Shouldn't Government Sacrifice?

By REP. JOHN ERLENBORN (R.-Ill.)

President Johnson's proposal for what he calls a sur-tax is really a slur-tax, because it is a slur on the American public. While boasting domestic spending, LBJ is trying to peddle to the people the idea that a surtax is necessary for the war effort. While discoursing on the sorry expense of warfare, LBJ is shoveling money into his patronage program.

If there is a wartime need to sacrifice, then the federal government shouldn't be doing some of the things it is doing. Perhaps one place to start would be the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. If LBJ is serious about the need for sacrifices to finance the war, there is, for instance, a $10,000 federal grant to Bryn Mawr College for "Excavations in Tuscany." Under this romantic sounding project, "students from various American institutions will participate in diggings that will reveal the layout and development of a 6th Century B.C. Etruscan town." Interesting? Yes. Necessary in wartime?

There are others:

• The Minnesota Historical Society will get $5,000 to study the fur trade between 1770 and 1820.

• Smith College will get $6,952 for a project to "edit the unpublished memoirs of the Spaniard Oviedo (1478-1557)."

• The University of North Carolina will get $17,205 to dig around in the ruins of Winchester, England, to detail the "changing character of the city of Winchester from its origin in the Iron Age to its emergence as a Victorian City."

• UCLA will get $15,000 to "support the preparation of a dictionary of popular beliefs and superstitions." This tome, the agency says, "will be a valuable reference for the whole field of folklore, magic and witchcraft."

• A $7,500 grant will finance "Research on the Works of Gregory of Nyssa and the Later Greek Philosophical Tradition of Which He is a Part."

The list goes on and on. True, most of these grants are small, just as most of the individual patronage jobs in the poverty war are small. But they add up to millions.

Domestic expenditure increases are outstripping increases in military expenditures—because the "Great Society" has not attempted to establish priorities for spending tax dollars, but has, instead, let the whole spending program build into an avalanche.

With people spending tax dollars digging around in English ruins, studying witchcraft, and publishing old Spanish memoirs, LBJ will be hard put to instill a sense of urgency about his 6 per cent surtax proposal. The public's leg can be pulled just so far—then it kicks back.

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

RESOLUTIONS

• Rep. Melvin Laird (R.-Wis.), with the support of the House Republican leadership, has introduced a "Sense of Congress" resolution (H. Con. Res. 210) which states that Congress believes the Administration should make no further agreements with the Soviet bloc until those countries (including Russia) halt their support of North Viet Nam and take action to bring about the end of the Viet Nam war, and until "there is demonstrable evidence that they have abandoned their policy of support for so-called wars of national liberation."

TREATIES

• The Outer Space Treaty, subject of hearings in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, would be affected by the Laird resolution because the treaty is another of the Administration's attempts to "build bridges" with the Soviet Union, despite Moscow's continued support of Hanoi's war effort. In addition, military and space experts contend that there is no way possible to check the orbiting of nuclear weapons, the basic intent of the treaty.

BILLS

• Sen. Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) has introduced a Voluntary Confessions Bill (S. 1194) co-sponsored by 20 senators, which would overrule recent Supreme Court decisions protecting criminals. The measure would allow any confession to be used in trial courts as long as the confession is "voluntary" in character; the bill, which will be referred to the Senate Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures for hearings, would also prevent the Supreme Court or federal appeal courts from voiding confessions which have been found by the highest court in a state to be voluntary and admissible evidence.

• Seven colleagues have joined Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.) in supporting his bill (S. 1353) abolishing the labor-biased National Labor Relations Board and substituting a U.S. labor court, similar to the Tax Court, composed of 15 judges who would have staggered 20-year terms. Griffin, who represents the most heavily unionized state in the nation, wishes to take the NLRB out of the policy-making field and create an arbitrating body which would judge fairly in labor-management disputes.

• The President's so-called "Truth-in-Lending" legislation (S. 5) will shortly be the subject of testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Financial Institutions. This legislation, which has been rejected by every Congress since 1960, would put the federal government into a position of control over private finance companies by imposing arbitrary restrictions and regulations on the highly complex field of lending.

• The House will soon begin debate on LBJ's multi-billion-dollar aid-to-education program, the most controversial features of which are $3.3 billion for "poverty" school aid and $36 million for Teachers Corps' salaries and training. The Teachers Corps, consisting of an army of federal teachers dispatched to so-called "slum schools," is the feature House conservatives hope to scuttle first.

• The Administration's bundle of Social Security amendments (HR 5710) is now being examined by the House Ways and Means Committee. All told, the amendments would amount to a whopping 20 per cent increase in benefits which would mean great increases in the taxes of both employers and workers.

• The Air Pollution Control Bill (S 780), subject of hearings in the Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, represents a major increase in federal power over private industry. As proposed, the bill would authorize the secretary of health, education and welfare to set standards for maximum air pollution emission, pick the industries these standards were to apply to, and fine anyone who does not obey $1,000 per day.

• Sen. Warren Magnuson (D.-Wash.) has introduced the Public Television Act of 1967 which would further federal control over educational television and radio by setting up a broad government program to "extend and improve the program of grants" for building non-commercial radio broadcasting facilities, and establishing a non-profit, government-supported corporation to "assist" in educational television programming and operation of facilities.

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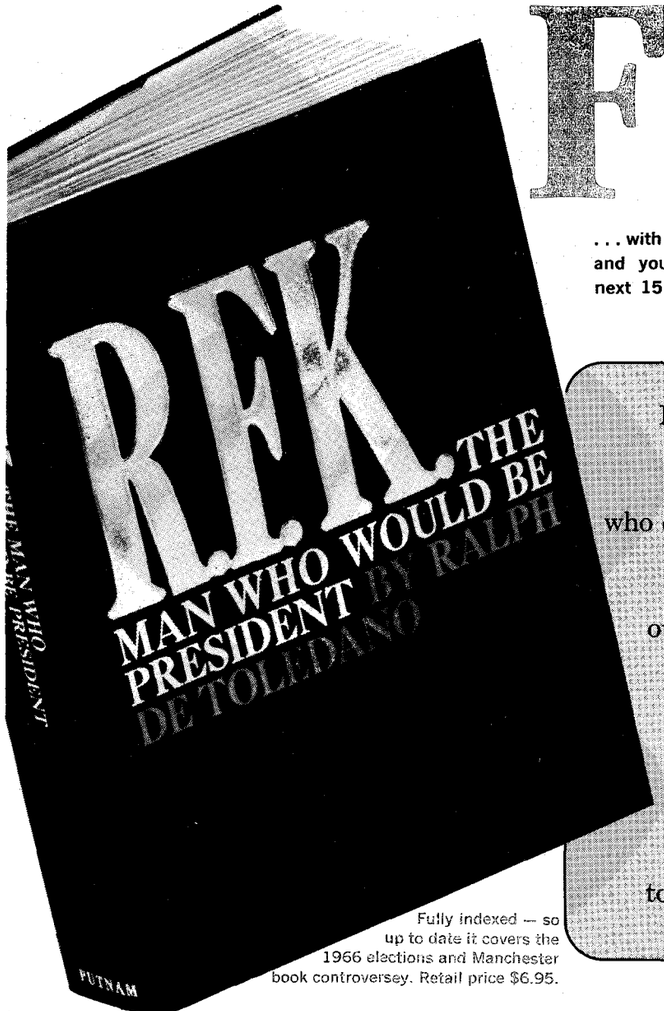

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HE IS A SLIGHT, introverted, complicated man. Whenever he passes the big picture of his brother Jack, he touches it ritualistically. When he plays touch football he changes the rules in the middle of the game — or calls off the game if the other team starts catching up.

When he entertains at his Hickory Hill estate, guests do what he wants, or face scorn and ridicule. His mastiff Brumus is allowed to help himself to food from the guests' plates. "Once was enough for me," remarked a Hickory Hill visitor. "That damned dog was all over me, and Bobby seemed to think that my objections were pretty stuffy if not downright unmannerly. Brumus got most of my meal and left paw marks all over my clothes."

R.F.K. seems to take his religion more seriously than his brother did. Each night he prays abundantly with his abundant family. He can pursue a racketeer — provided the pursuit is good politics — with a reformer's zeal. Yet he wound up, with Frank Sinatra and Dean Martin, on Joe DiMaggio's blacklist because of Marilyn Monroe.

Political, Psychological Study

As a political document, this important new book has the taste of high politics — and backroom politics. But more: Toledano is committed to oldfashioned virtues and Constitutional rights. He cares when a man who should know better plays political games with the Communist menace. And so this book is informed with a muted but unmistakable moral indignation that keeps repeating: "Do we Americans now hold ourselves so cheap that we dally with a Bobby Kennedy?"

As a psychological study, the book is challenging. The personality pattern often displayed by this junior son of the rich is familiar enough: the terrible need to prove himself, the years without accomplishment, the indifference to human sensibilities, the brooding absorption with himself, the curious tightfistedness, the people-eater attitude. And above all, the strange need to *win*, no matter what.

Yes, here is a portrait that fascinates, and chills. You will think about it, talk about it. And come away with a new determination to keep America out of the hands of this man.

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What is Bobby Kennedy *Really* Like?

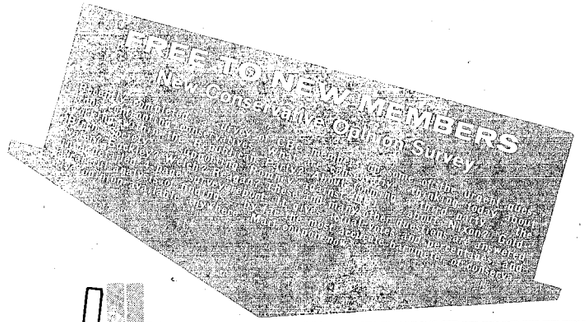
Here Are Some Facts You May Not Know...

- Bobby's zest for wiretapping (and more evidence of why J. Edgar Hoover has no fear of a public confrontation).
- November 22, 1963. The anguished scene as Bobby and Ethel get the news while lunching. That much-debated call from LBJ. Bobby's road back from the edge of despair. Bobby and Jackie grow closer.
- Bobby's disastrous meeting with prominent Negroes led by James Baldwin, Lena Horne, Harry Belafonte. "Being in the same room with you makes me want to vomit," snarls one.
- The invasion of New York: from visitor to Senatorial candidate in 27 days. Secret meetings, bold tactics, and the power merchants who served up the state to RFK. How the image makers gave Bobby a quick face-lifting.
- The Catholic non-issue, and how the Kennedys made it work both ways. How Bobby's "People Machine" kept the pot boiling.

R.F.K. As Seen by Those Who Know Him Personally. "A Vulture." "Arrogant." "Young Whippersnapper." "Little Lord Fauntleroy." "S.O.B." . . .

1. Jacqueline Kennedy: "He's the one I'd put my hand in the fire for." And again: "I sometimes wish that Bobby, because he is so wonderful, had been an amoeba and then he could have mated with himself."
2. Lyndon Johnson: "A young whippersnapper."
3. Melvin M. Belli: "He's arrogant, rude, and even ignorant of the law. He's the moneyed Little Lord Fauntleroy of government. Every newspaperman knows what he is, and even Johnson can't stand him, but everybody's too scared of the son-of-a-bitch."
4. **Washington newsman:** "He has all the patience of a vulture, without any of the dripping sentimentality."
5. **Joseph P. Kennedy:** "Bobby doesn't care how he wins."
6. **Henry J. Taylor:** "Neither hail, rain, sleet, nor gloom of night stay Bobby from the swift completion of his ride on the gravy train. Conscience and money somehow do not seem to mix in politics."

- RFK brushes aside union terrorism in Kohler and Perfect Circle strikes. The gap between Bobby's TV posture and his later version of the same incidents in his book, **The Enemy Within.**
- Fascinating cut and thrust between LBJ and RFK. Johnson gags on a bitter pill. 1964: adroit moves win that round for Lyndon.
- The Meredith incident. Bobby publicly compares Mississippi with Nazi Germany, privately negotiates face-saving gestures with Ross Barnett.
- Bobby's vendetta against Roy Cohn: surveillance, mail checks, 30 hours of questioning. How Cohn stumbled upon Bobby's involvement with **Life's** Hoffa exposé.
- Schlesinger and Rusk play on JFK's wavering, lead him to emasculate the Cuban invasion. Ethel embarrasses Bobby in front of Cuban leader Roberto San Roman.
- Bobby's mode of conduct as employee of Senate Labor Rackets Committee: he yells at Senators, bullies witnesses. The Army purchasing agent — a woman — who charged that Bobby and his aide had put her in a "hot room" and had "browbeaten, badgered and kicked me around." Bobby uses committee power to persecute Nixon aide Murray Chotiner. Congressman Celler saves Bobby from House investigation.
- RFK's role in the Reuther Memorandum calling for action against the "radical right": "an unknown number of millions" that were said to include the followers of Barry Goldwater.
- Bobby boasts that 57,000 government officials are taking "counter-insurgency" courses. The puzzled man in charge corrects the figure to 400 or 500.
- Bobby charges attempted bribes — which, if offered, make **him** an *accessory after the fact.*
- FBI undermined. RFK forces Hoover to reassign best agents from national security duty, leaks anti-FBI stories to pals in the press.
- Bobby moves to control nation's banking and business.
- The Cuban missile crisis: how hawks and doves lined up. State Department pinpoints 47 missile sites, but word of them never — apparently — reaches JFK. His strange *disagreement with Fulbright.* JFK backs down, twice. Khrushchev calls the shots.
- Bobby plays it both ways with Joe McCarthy. His near-fight with Roy Cohn. Unpublicized accomplishments of McCarthy. Bobby maneuvers McCarthy into squabbles with Mundt, other GOP Senators.
- Kennedy aide, fired by OSS and CIA as security risk, given sensitive Justice Department job by RFK.
- How did LBJ get the V.P. nomination? Toledano lays out the conflicting stories and, while offering no definitive answer, etches a pattern of deals within deals that would dazzle Machiavelli.
- 6 eminent Americans who found their way, fully clothed, into the Kennedy swimming pool.
- Bobby charges GOP with spending $1 million for anti-Catholic literature. *Fair Campaign Practices Committee exonerates* Republicans — but not until **after** the election.



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